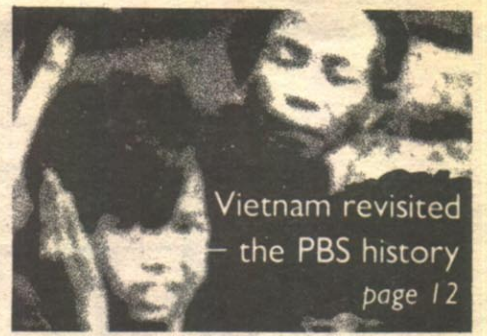


IN THESE TIMES



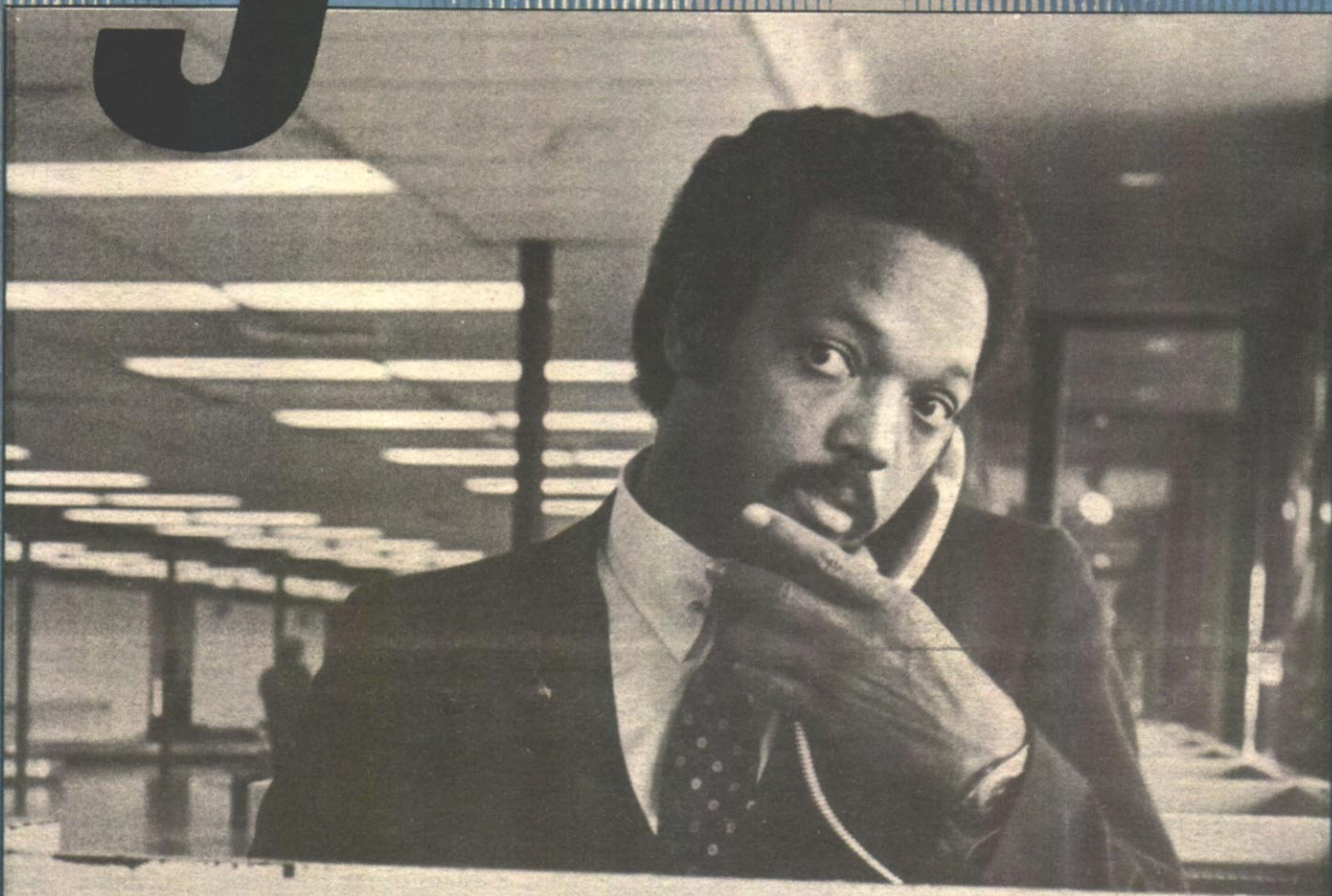
Vietnam revisited
— the PBS history
page 12

VOL. 7, NO. 37

OCTOBER 5-11, 1983

\$1.25

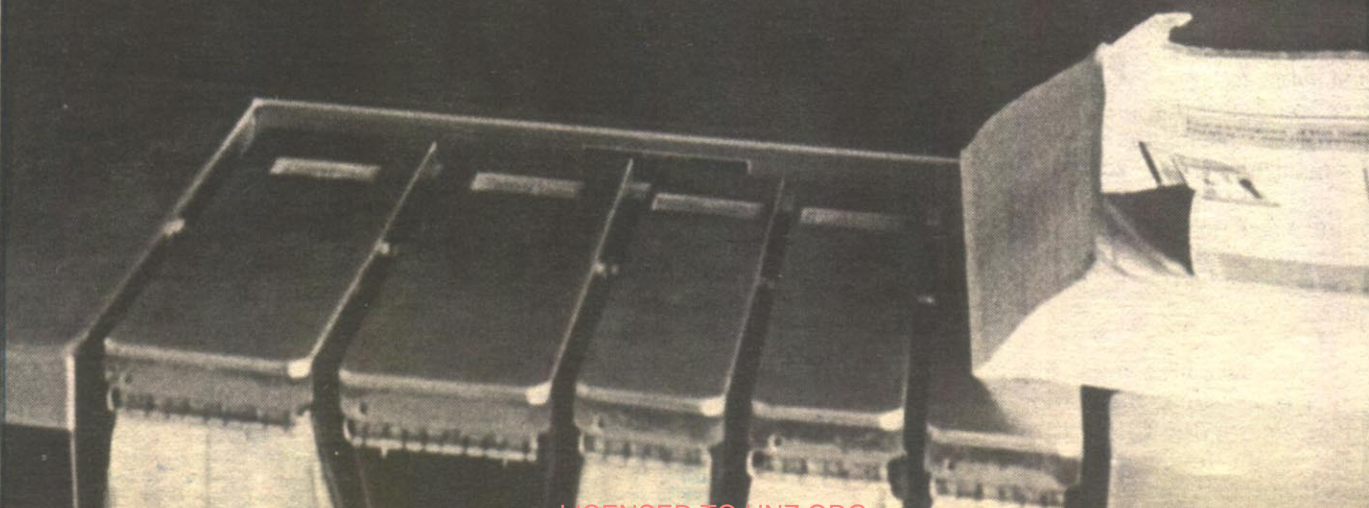
Somewhere under the rainbow, **J**ackson runs



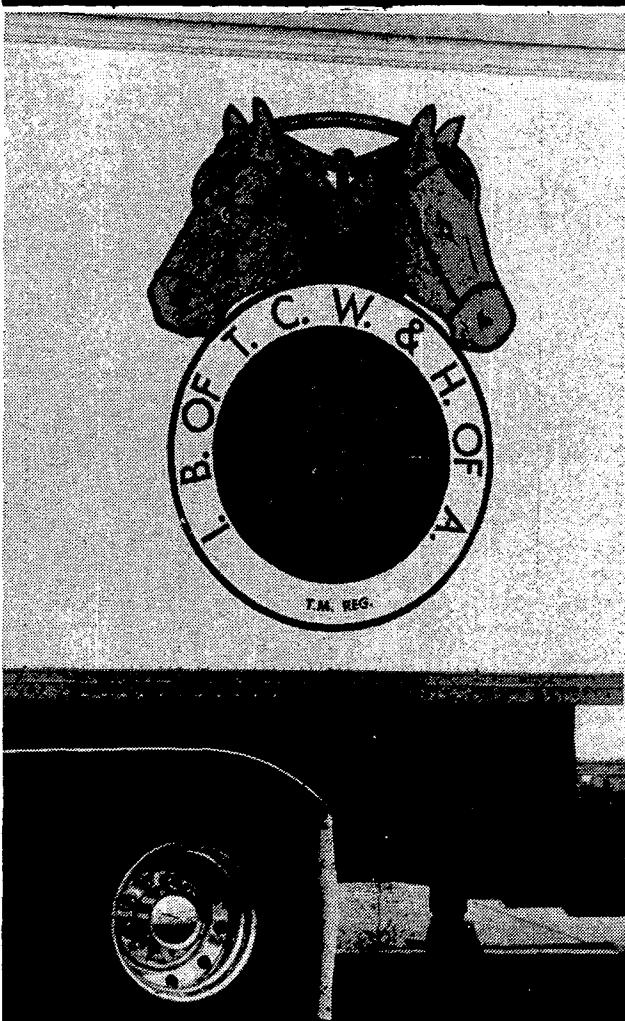
Moberg on Jackson's Presidential Push
Judis on Black Congressional Caucus

Page 7

Page 6



THE INSIDE STORY



Last month Teamster truck drivers said no to more concessions.

Labor roundup

By David Moberg

Teamster truck drivers rebuked their new union president Jackie Presser in an overwhelming vote against further contract concessions in mid-September. The nearly 90 percent rejection marked the first time that Teamsters under the Master Freight Agreement had voted down a contract. Although Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) played a major role in publicizing the new concessions, breaking through the secrecy Presser tried to impose, many local leaders who have never sympathized with TDU argued against the proposal. Some locals passed resolutions calling for Presser's resignation.

Despite a wage freeze and other concessions in the March 1982 contract and lax enforcement of the contract by the union, one-third of Master Freight Agreement truckers are unemployed—making many doubt that more concessions would do any good. Last December then-President Roy Williams rejected company requests to reopen negotiations. In July, Presser, who as head of the Ohio Conference had tried to undercut the national agreement, proposed cutting pay by one-third for drivers and 18.5 percent for dock workers who were laid off as of April 1 whenever they returned to work.

Presser blames the news media and the dissidents for misinterpreting the proposal. But Joseph Cimino, president of a large Philadelphia freight local, caught the mood of members: "I, along with each and every member of Local 107's executive board, feel that the 'rider,' if accepted, would certainly aid in paving the way for the eventual fall of the organization true Teamsters know and love."

TDU hopes to build on this rebellion to gain support for a referendum vote on union officers by the 1986 convention, but that will be extremely difficult, despite Presser's new political vulnerability.

Although other union members have been voting like the Teamsters against further concessions, the erosion of union contracts continues. During the first half of the year, contracts surveyed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics showed an average 0.9 percent increase for the first year and an average of 2.7 percent annually over

the life of the contract—the lowest gains in the 15-year history of the survey. One-fourth of the workers involved took wage cuts and one-fifth had their wages frozen. The private Bureau of National Affairs showed similar results, with one-third of contracts it surveyed showing pay cuts or freezes, although smaller contracts tended to provide better terms for workers.

The low rate of increase was heavily affected by wage freezes and cuts in the construction industry and the large pay cut in steel. Now U.S. Steel is preparing to close even more of its facilities later this year.

Despite a convention pledge by United Auto Workers (UAW) President Owen Bieber to end concessions, the union pressed hard at the 17,000-worker Ford Rouge complex for deep cuts in the pay for workers at its steel mill (30 percent reduction in incentive pay, cost-of-living freeze through 1985 and other reductions that could total \$4.50 an hour). The agreement, which was voted on by the entire complex, despite precedents to the contrary, passed by a two-thirds margin after Ford threatened to close the steel plant. Critics charge that Ford negotiated the concessions in order to help sell the mill to a Japanese buyer, as it failed to do earlier this year. Tool and die chairman Al Gardner argued that in the long run concessions do not save jobs and that "when you give in to a blackmailer he never stops asking."

On the West Coast, the UAW won an agreement from the new GM-Toyota joint venture in Fremont, Calif., to hire UAW members at prevailing auto wages, but workers would not be called back by seniority, something former local union leaders had feared (*In These Times*, Sept. 21).

Fighting concessions isn't easy. Since June 30, 1,250 workers from Phelps Dodge Corporation's copper mines and smelters, primarily near Morenci, Ariz., have been on strike. Politically powerful and infamously anti-union, Phelps Dodge refused to accept the three-year wage freeze that had been established as the pattern contract for the industry and accepted by six major companies. They wanted to eliminate cost-of-living adjustments, cut pay for new employees, shift health costs to workers, cut vacation and revamp work rules. But the coalition of 12 international unions and the Metal Trades Council, dominated by the Steelworkers union, refused.

Phelps Dodge responded by bringing in strikebreakers, who were protected by state police and National Guard troops called out by Gov. Bruce Babbitt. With supervisors and about 900 production employees, some of them union members, the company has tried to maintain some production.

Over three-fourths of all copper industry workers are now unemployed as a result of a collapse in prices due to recession and overproduction in low-wage mines, such as in Chile. Phelps Dodge itself was closed for a year until last April, and union spokesman Cass Alvin says the company is "turning unemployment into a strike" while playing on the obvious hardships of the miners, many of whom are long-established Mexican-Americans. Negotiations continue while the union presses labor law and civil rights complaints.

Continental Airlines appears to be relying on one of the newest devices for forcing concessions: declaring bankruptcy. Some 2,000 Machinists struck Continental on August 13. The company promptly eliminated 800

jobs through subcontracting (one of the strike issues, in addition to pay), brought some union members across picket lines, and began hiring new mechanics. Pilots and flight attendants had also rebuffed concession demands. After declaring bankruptcy, Continental President Frank Lorenzo offered to rehire some employees at half pay and reopen a new low-fare airline.

In recent years, several companies have broken contracts by pleading bankruptcy, and increasingly the courts are supporting them. One test case will soon go before the Supreme Court. Earlier this year Wilson Foods forced major concessions from the United Food and Commercial Workers at its meatpacking plants through bankruptcy. At issue is the relative ease with which companies can break contracts and whether they can file bankruptcy solely to avoid labor contracts, which appears to be the case with Continental.

Lorenzo also tried another strategy increasingly common among companies seeking concessions: he offered employees 35 percent of the company stock. But Continental Employees, who tried to buy the company two years ago to prevent takeover by Lorenzo's much smaller, anti-union Texas International Air, rejected the bid. Pan Am employees, through their unions, negotiated a stock compensation for wage concessions that also brought some worker involvement into management. Western Air unions are negotiating a 25 percent stock share for wage cuts. A recent survey in *Harvard Business Review* reported that 35 percent of concession agreements in all industries have swapped stock for wage cuts.

Independent steelworkers at Weirton Steel in Weirton, W.V., voted by an 89 percent margin to buy their mill from National Steel and to take a 20 percent pay cut. The mill, which will cost workers \$194 million plus assumption of \$192 million in liabilities, will be the 10th largest steel company in the U.S., and in assets the largest employee-owned company.

Stock in the company will be distributed in proportion to compensation, maximizing benefits and power for managerial personnel. But some important votes will be taken on the principle of one worker, one vote, with a two-thirds majority of the roughly 7,000 workers required. On the initial 12-member board of directors, there are three worker representatives, one management representative and the remainder appointed by investment bankers. After five years, workers will begin voting to replace the banker appointees. But also in five years they will be given the opportunity to issue stock publicly, which would greatly dilute worker control. Workers agreed not to strike or renegotiate the economic arrangements for six years and abandoned claims to shutdown and severance pay from National.

Corey Rosen, director of the National Center for Employee Ownership, says, "There was pressure from investment bankers to do it in the least democratic way and to go public as quickly as possible." But he defends the compromise by comparison with other firms, if not with an ideal standard. "For a company its size, with a handful of exceptions, Weirton is the most democratic of large employee-owned companies."

Attorney Staughton Lynd, who represented a small dissident group fighting to democratize the decision-making process, argued that the basis for the 20 percent pay cut "remains unexplained and unjustified." Calling the terms "just terrible" and providing little democracy or worker control, Lynd said, "This is worker ownership Wall-Street style."

IN THESE TIMES

The Independent Socialist Newspaper

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700.

PUBLISHER

James Weinstein

EDITORIAL

Editor

James Weinstein

Senior Editors

John B. Judis,
David Moberg

Managing Editor

Sheryl Larson

European Editor

Diana Johnstone

Culture Editor

Jay Walljasper

Assistant Managing Editor

Joan Walsh

Staff: Emily Young, *Editorial Assistant*; Jay Walljasper, Emily Young, *Books Editors*; Sharon Kearney, Barb Schuler, Jim Montalbano, *Interns*.

Correspondents:

Pat Aufderheide (Cultural), John B. Judis (Washington), Timothy Lange (Denver), Daniel Lazare, (New York), David Mandel (Jerusalem), Jan Pager (Africa).

ART

Director

Dolores Wilber

Associate Art Director

Miles DeCoster

Assistant Art Director

Nicole Ferentz

Darkroom Manager/Photographer

Paul Comstock

Composition

Jim Rinnert, Diane Scott

Production

Lisa Weinstein

BUSINESS

Business Manager

Ruth Greenspan

Circulation Director Advertising Director

Bill Rehm Deborah Greiff

Product and Typesetting Sales

Andy Simons

Staff: Grace Faustino, *Bookkeeper*; Leenie Folsom, *Assistant Circulation Director*; Adelia Price, George Gurham, *Circulation Assistants*; Beth Maschinot, *Classified Advertising*; Bruce Embrey, *Development Assistant*; Paul Batitsas, Dennis Morgan, *Fulfillment Assistants*; Kathleen Gallagher, *Office Manager*.

Sponsors: Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jesse Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, William Sennett, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weinstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *In These Times* is copyright ©1983 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscriptions are \$29.50 a year (\$40.00 for institutions; \$35.00 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$2.00; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, IL. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. This issue (Vol. 7, No. 37) published Oct. 5, 1983, for newsstand sales Oct. 5-11, 1983.

By Daniel Lazare

NEW YORK

FOR THE 180,000 AMERICANS who subscribe to his "Financial Survival Report," Howard Ruff, a Mormon with 10 children who lives in southwestern Utah, is a latter-day Kit Carson. He provides them with weekly bulletins on how to make their way through today's economic and moral wilderness.

For \$145 a year, he tells them to buy gold, invest in U.S. Treasury securities and keep a year's supply of canned food on hand just in case society really gets out of control. He also inveighs against abortion, Communism, left-wingers who would curtail their economic freedom and, lately, the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In ordinary times, Ruff would be shouting from the sidelines, but recently he has risen to an eerie kind of prominence. The reason is the Reagan administration's efforts to win congressional approval of an \$8.4-billion increase in the U.S. contribution to the IMF. The White House, the Treasury, the Federal Reserve and a whole army of impeccably attired international financiers have united to convince a reluctant Congress that the Fund must have more money to stave off an uncontrolled chain of defaults by heavily indebted Third World nations. The alternative, they contend, would be catastrophic, the financial equivalent of a worldwide thermonuclear explosion.

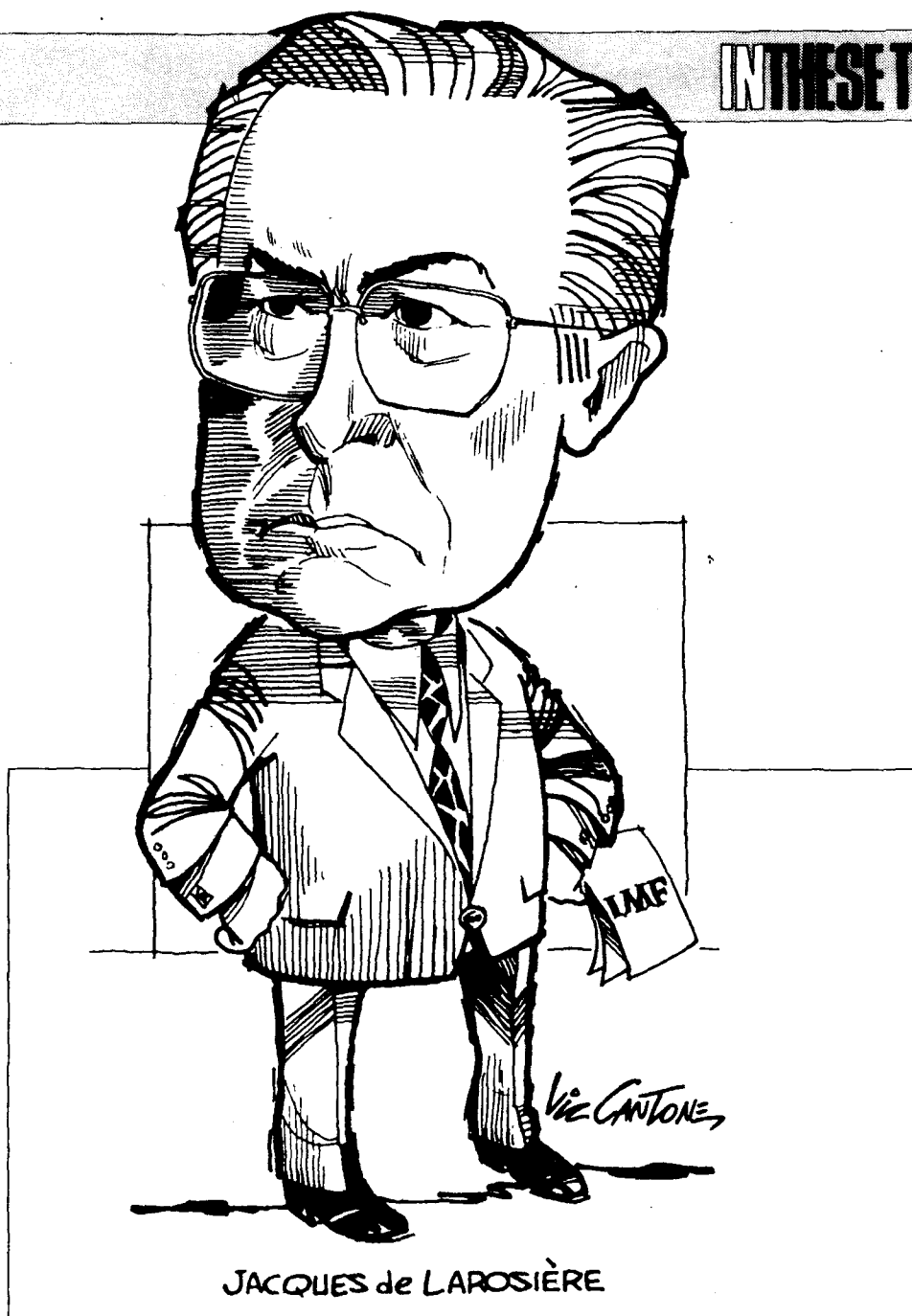
Nonetheless, the IMF appropriation is in serious trouble, due, at least in part, to the efforts of Ruff and his followers. Operating under the name Free the Eagle, the Ruffites argue that warnings of some sort of financial collapse are all a ruse by the big Eastern banks to persuade Washington to bail them out now that they seem to find themselves in embarrassing financial straits. As faithful adherents of the doctrine of "the discipline of the marketplace," Ruff and his followers believe that the international banks are about to be severely punished for 10 years of uncontrolled lending, that they deserve it, they have it coming and, moreover, in the long run we'll all be better off because of it.

Ruff stands in the center of a wildly diverse array of forces assembled solely for the purpose of blocking the \$8.4 billion. Standing shoulder-to-shoulder with him on the IMF issue are, from left to right, Ralph Nader and his Public Interest Research Group, the Environmental Policy Center, the Methodist Church, a host of liberal members of the House of Representatives, the ultra-rightist Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina and the libertarian Council for a Competitive Economy.

The line up.

Nader opposes any appropriation unless it is accompanied by deep and thorough reforms of international banking practices, which, unfortunately, seems unlikely. The environmentalists criticize the IMF because it encourages large-scale development projects and agricultural policies geared to exports rather than domestic consumption. The Methodists think there should be more emphasis on regional cooperation for development, while House liberals find themselves choking on the fact that Reagan, even as he appeals for the IMF increase, has opposed debt relief for unemployed workers who are about to be thrown out of their homes because they are behind on their mortgages. The Congressional Black Caucus, at the same time, is decidedly unsympathetic because of the \$1.07-billion loan to South Africa, land of apartheid, approved by the IMF last autumn.

The far right, for its part, is opposed because the IMF lends to Communist nations like Rumania and Yugoslavia and because the agency, which celebrates its 40th birthday next year, is the example *par excellence* of the kind of government intrusion in the realm of private business that all good conservatives abhor.



JACQUES de LAROSIERE

Left, right unite to stop IMF bailout

"It's tough when we have coalition meetings," said Cesar Corda, a lobbyist in Washington with the libertarian faction. "We have right-wing people and left-wing people, and it's tough holding these people together. But they realize that after this issue, it's back to the opposite sides of the fence."

The leading role, however, seems to have fallen to Free the Eagle, which claims 80,000 members, mainly, but not exclusively, in the Sunbelt. Free the Eagle has sent out fully five million pieces of mail on the issue and expects to send out another two million before the IMF bill comes up for a vote sometime in mid-October or early November.

"We've had some Congress people complain that we're inundating their offices [with postcards]," said Mark Stoddard, Free the Eagle's executive director. "We're just very pleased the people have responded."

Free the Eagle's approach is simple, vigorous and direct. "It's time that we stopped this nonsense and made the banks face the music and quit relying on American taxpayers to bail them out every time they make irresponsible loans to irresponsible countries," ran one mail appeal. Added another: "This bill, if passed, will turn this money over to the IMF who (sic) in turn will bail out Citicorp and other big banks who have made reckless loans to Communist and other deadbeat countries who constantly spend beyond their resources."

"Free the Eagle is really pushing those anti-big bank, anti-pinstripe sentiments," Corda observed. "They're very politically astute. They know what goes on on the Hill, and they're really the best there is in the grassroots lobbying business. Once they latch onto an issue, they really pull out all the stops and spend a hell of a lot of money."

"It doesn't add up to a world debt crisis or the end of the world," Stoddard

said. "It adds up to a lot of greed. We're not anti-bank, we're anti-big bank. There is a difference."

Outside the U.S., bankers unfamiliar with the fury of right-wing, Sunbelt, anti-high finance populism are less than amused at the congressional roadblock the IMF bill has encountered. When Jacques de Larosiere, the IMF's managing director, recently appealed for a \$6-billion loan from the West Europeans and the Saudi Arabians to tide the Fund over, the irritation over the delay in Washington was such that they turned him down flat.

Facing the challenge.

For the Reagan administration, the challenge mounted by Free the Eagle is particularly painful. Howard Ruff represents the pure, untrammelled, free-market conservatism of the old Ronald Reagan, the Reagan who refused to step in to cushion the blow of the \$2-billion Penn Square Bank collapse in April 1982, the largest banking collapse in American history. A stream of rhetoric about the discipline of the marketplace issued from the White House then, and it continued right through the summer even as Mexico was teetering on its foundations and threatening to default on its \$80-billion foreign debt, \$25 billion of it owed to U.S. banks.

Mexico quickly put a damper on things, however. In the face of a financial market that was rapidly crumbling, the administration's brave talk and defiant rhetoric lasted for about one month. Then, in September, Secretary of the Treasury Donald Regan announced that the international debt crisis was real and government intervention was warranted.

Then in December, Brazil, with its \$87 billion foreign debt, briefly ran out of money, and the U.S. hastily dropped its opposition to an increase in the IMF's lending resources. The Fund's \$67 billion was clearly inadequate in the face of a

shaky international debt pyramid now estimated at more than \$700 billion, so Reagan was forced to agree to a \$42 billion hike, \$8.4 billion of it to be borne by the U.S.

Nonetheless, the longing in the White House for the good old days of simple problems and clear-cut solutions occasionally still shows. Over the summer, the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee committed the supreme political blunder of mailing broadsides to the home districts of some 20 liberal Democrats who had voted in favor of the IMF appropriations but against an amendment forbidding loans to Communist nations. The GOP missive denounced the Democrats for supporting "Communist dictatorships," but neglected to mention that the White House opposed the very same anti-Communist clause because it prefers to see the IMF kept "apolitical." Reagan was embarrassed, the House Democratic leadership was furious and right-wing opponents of the IMF bill were overjoyed. The White House has since tried to make amends, even flying members of Congress to Latin America, the epicenter of the crisis, to see the damage first hand. But for now, enthusiasm is a quality far more prevalent among opponents than supporters.

A sterile dispute.

The feud between the Reagan administration and groups like Free the Eagle is actually one of those sterile disputes between two poles of the same axis. Both are correct about some things, wrong about others, but, needless to say, woefully wrong in their dual failure to see the international debt emergency as symptomatic of a capitalist system convulsed by a profound crisis. The White House is correct that the crisis is not to be taken lightly. Free the Eagle is correct that the IMF increase is a bailout for the banks and flies in the face of logic. Both wish vainly that there were only some way the system could be put back firmly on its feet.

There are many reasons for opposing the role of the IMF and voting against the \$8.4 billion. Here are some of them:

- *The bailout issue:* Whenever a default is threatened along a chain of debtors and creditors, the immediate response is to grab for your own wallet—and for your neighbor's. Brazil's near default in December, for instance, prompted a two-fold response among the banks. One was to minimize the severity of the problem so as to preserve the book-value of those outstanding loans and thus protect their profit margins. Citibank, whose chairman, Walter Wriston, was a pioneer in the go-go world of international lending, recently reported record profits for the first half of 1983, even though its loans to Brazil, Mexico and Argentina—the three biggest debtors—total \$5 billion, a sum roughly equal to its total capitalization. For Citibank to admit that little, if any, of that money will ever be repaid would be tantamount to a declaration of bankruptcy by the nation's third largest bank. The purpose of the IMF is to see that this fiction is maintained as long as possible.

- *The issue of "recolonization":* The banks' second response was to arrange, with the collusion of the IMF, what amounted to a fire sale of the battered remains of Brazil, a sovereign nation of 120 million people. The terms of the sale were, to put it mildly, most unfair. To put Brazil back on good terms with the banks, the IMF ordered its currency devalued, its imports slashed and its workers' wages cut. Meanwhile, unemployment rose as the economy was rocked by a series of major bankruptcies—this in a society without unemployment insurance, where joblessness often means returning to a dirt-floored shack. Small wonder that a Nigerian newspaper recently observed that for much of the world 1983 is "the year of recolonization."

- *Handsome salaries, hefty fees:* The farce is compounded by the fees exacted

Continued on page 10

IN SHORT

NCC: No satisfaction

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland has rejected complaints from Protestant church groups protesting the involvement of AFL-CIO political action official David Jessup in the Institute for Religion and Democracy (IRD), a group established to challenge liberal church foreign policy positions (*In These Times*, Aug. 10). In a letter to National Council of Churches (NCC) General Secretary Claire Randall, Kirkland rejected public appeals from some church leaders for an AFL-CIO statement denouncing the IRD. "If it is true, as I have been informed, that some church groups have decided to withhold support from specific union struggles because of Mr. Jessup's activities—struggles which they would otherwise have supported on their intrinsic merits—that would be sad," Kirkland wrote. "Personal positions taken by individual employees ...and expressed on their own time, should not jeopardize institutional relationships." Kirkland assured Randall that "the AFL-CIO will not be a party to outside assaults on America's churches," but refused to take any position on the IRD's attacks.

Crashing the party

New York Mayor Ed Koch recently went to San Francisco—site of the 1984 Democratic convention—to offer the first in what he promises will be a series of advisory statements on the future of the Democratic Party and what it should learn from its years in exile. What Koch has learned is clear—he admired Ronald Reagan before he was elected, and has since championed a Democratic transformation that looks suspiciously like Republicanism. But prominent New York labor leaders and left politicians challenged Koch's West Coast posturing in a letter to San Francisco Mayor Diane Feinstein and the city's newspapers. Pointing out Koch's questionable Democratic credentials—he was nominated for mayor by the GOP as well as the Democrats in the '82 race and lost every minority district in the city—the letter found him a questionable party standard-bearer and challenged his advice that the Democrats should abandon their commitment to "special interests" like women, minorities, labor and the poor. Signed by New York City Councilmember Ruth Messinger, State Rep. Al Vann, U.S. Rep. Major Owens, Communications Workers' Vice-President Jan Pearce and Coalition of Labor Union Women head Joyce Miller, the letter advises Koch to take his ideas to the Republicans, "where they will have a far more receptive audience."

Divine obedience

The three Catholic pacifists arrested at Fort Benning, Ga., for entering the base to encourage Salvadoran soldiers training there to seek asylum were found guilty September 14 of trespassing and impersonating an officer (*In These Times*, Sept. 7). Rev. Larry Rosenbaugh and Linda Ventimiglia were sentenced to 15 months in prison; Rev. Roy Bourgeois, also charged with assault, received an 18-month sentence. The trio entered the base dressed as Army officers four times, once handing out leaflets to the Salvadorans denouncing their government's war, another time playing a recording of slain Archbishop Oscar Romero's last sermon. Bourgeois pleaded innocent to the assault charge, but to trespassing and impersonation the three's only defense was to plead "divine obedience to the word of God."

Not so sweet 16

A college sophomore from Minneapolis became the first Minnesotan indicted for failure to register for the draft September 21, Mordecai Specktor reports. A Minneapolis federal grand jury returned a bill of indictment against Steven Schlossberg, 20, who declined to register after being warned by the U.S. attorney's office. A political science major, Schlossberg worked as a canvasser for the Minnesota nuclear freeze campaign and was active in the local anti-registration movement. Although there may be as many as 800,000 non-registrants in the U.S., Schlossberg is only the 16th person indicted. He faces a maximum penalty of five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

Deficit thinking

Abortion foes have grabbed at a lot of unlikely arguments to advance their cause, but California Republican Rep. William Dannemeyer came up with a new one in a recent House debate over banning federal abortion funding: abortion, he noted, could make it hard to balance the national budget. "If we are going to pay off [the national] debt, somebody has got to be born to pay the taxes to pay it off. Now, since 1973, the decline in the birth rate per fertile female has reached the point where, as a civilization, we run the serious risk of disappearing from the face of this planet." Not everyone bought his line of reasoning. Maryland Democratic Rep. Barbara Mikulski, for one, was "insulted" at the insinuation that "women are meant to be breeder reactors to sustain civilization and pay off the deficit."

—Joan Walsh



Wearing an asbestos-protective mask, a UAW member works at a clutch assembly. The Manville Corp. has protected itself from asbestos claims under Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Act.

Manville plaintiffs seek bankruptcy dismissal

SAN FRANCISCO—Lawyers for thousands of former asbestos workers have asked Manhattan Federal District Court to dismiss the Manville Corporation's bankruptcy plan.

"We have had it," said Robert Sweeney, one of the lawyers representing the asbestos claimants. He said that since Manville filed for protection under Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Act in August 1982, "nothing has been accomplished. Negotiation meetings have been cancelled without notice, positions abandoned without explanation and offers of settlement abruptly withdrawn."

Sweeney also noted that Manville has prospered financially since filing for bankruptcy, "without paying one dime to its victims, suppliers or bankers."

Manville just won its seventh extension of the deadline to submit a reorganization plan to the Bankruptcy Court. The latest revised deadline is October 17. A hearing on the motion to nullify the bankruptcy will be held October 18.

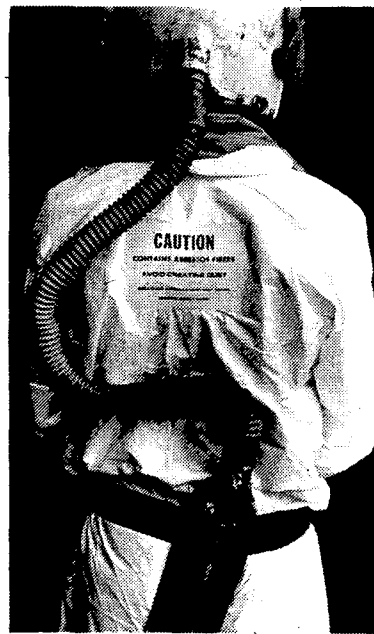
Although solvent at the time of its bankruptcy move last year, Manville claimed that anticipated legal costs would ruin the company. Manville officials estimated that by the turn of the century, compensation suits filed by ex-workers afflicted with asbestosis would cost the firm \$2 billion. While under the court protection of Chapter 11, Manville can't be sued.

"There is no reason for Man-

ville to have the privilege of being in bankruptcy in the absence of insolvency," said Sweeney. The company's net income for the first half of 1983 was \$45.7 million, compared to a loss of \$25 million for the same period in 1982. Manville's stock portfolio was valued at \$215 million as of last June 30, 12 times what it was worth one year earlier. The firm currently has close to \$1 billion in revenues.

"In the last 14 months many of our clients have died," added Sweeney. "It's a slow, agonizing death. We think Manville has been guilty of corporate homicide."

The lawyers' press conference announcing their motion coincided with a meeting between Man-



ville executives and the company's creditors. Manville Vice-President G. Earl Parker said, "It is disappointing that such a motion was made at the exact time [of the meeting]." He said that the session involved "finalization of a plan of reorganization."

Meanwhile, as the compensation and bankruptcy battles rage on, Manville is quietly getting out of the asbestos business. If it wins court approval to sell its Canadian division, Manville will be left making almost entirely non-asbestos products.

—Paul Glickman

OSHA: drop chemical rules?

WASHINGTON—Under President Reagan, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA)—the federal agency charged with protecting America's workers—has been markedly reluctant to issue regulations protecting workers from exposure to cancer-causing chemicals (*In These Times*, Sept. 21). Now OSHA Administrator Thorne Auchter has acknowledged that a staff task force has recommended that the agency drop efforts to set workplace standards for 116 chemicals—most of which are suspected carcinogens. Among those substances are several proven human carcinogens, including cadmium, nickel and chromium.

Auchter said that no chemical would be removed from the health standards list unless "the scientific community said OSHA's current standard was okay."

But one scientist who served on the task force told the *Washington Post* that the group was instructed not even to consider the chemicals' potential danger. And another OSHA scientist told *In These Times*: "These were all substances that we had published notices on in the federal register, either issuing advanced notices of proposed rulemaking [the first step toward issuing a new standard] or making requests for information. In some cases we had even held hearings on proposed regulations."

The agency staffer added that OSHA had prepared new standards for two chemicals on the list—beryllium and MBOCA—two years ago, but they were pulled back by the new administration. Hundreds of thousands of workers are exposed to these chemicals, he said. MBOCA, a curing agent used in the plastics industry, is listed as an animal carcinogen by the International Agency for the Research of Cancer (IARC). IARC lists beryllium as both an animal carcinogen and a suspected human carcinogen. "And IARC is a conservative organization," said the staffer.

If Auchter follows through on his task force's recommendations, it will make it extremely difficult for OSHA to issue new standards on these substances in the future. The agency would have to begin the regulatory process from square one for each substance, redoing in some cases thousands of dollars worth of research. (The agency has spent about \$50,000 over the past three

Original articles, news clips, memos, press releases, reports, anecdotes—send them all to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, Ill. 60657. Please include your address and phone number.

years to have a regulatory analysis done on nickel, for example.) Why then did Auchter set up the task force?

The task force was established to find out "what was achievable within four years," Auchter says. "There were various subjects that we'd gather information on and they were just languishing on the shelf." But an OSHA source counters, "Industry wanted relief. He [Auchter] just gave orders to end any activity on these chemicals. It wasn't that the staff was given any choice. They [the administration] didn't care about the health effects."

In one case, an OSHA staffer was ordered to stop doing a risk assessment on chromium because it was "not an agency priority," even though scientific research dating back to World War II has proven the metal is a human carcinogen. —Harvy Lipman

Nursing home unions win



The nursing home industry faces a wave of union organizing.

WASHINGTON—The Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the United Food and Commercial Workers are advancing rapidly in their campaign to unionize the nation's largest nursing home chain, Beverly Enterprises (*In These Times*, April 6).

The unions report that they have won 11 of 15 union representation elections since the campaign began earlier this year, and it filed petitions in about a dozen other nursing homes. Unions not involved in the joint effort have organized four additional Beverly homes, while losing in two elections.

The unions' biggest successes came in the South, according to SEIU health care coordinator Jerry Shea. There were election victories in Mississippi, Alabama, North Carolina, Florida and Arkansas, where Beverly aides and orderlies, most of them black, are "sick and tired of working for a company that can't seem to find any black supervisors," Shea said.

Organizers have been surprised by Beverly workers' eagerness to form unions. "Wherever we spend enough time, we are able to find leadership and build a campaign," Shea commented. Nonetheless, more than 90 percent of Beverly's 600-plus nursing homes remain non-union.

—Steve Askin

Briefing: Chain reaction News on nuclear issues

In the continuing saga of this country's worst commercial nuclear accident, Three Mile Island (TMI) nuclear power plant owner General Public Utilities (GPU) has battled public opinion, near-bankruptcy, whistleblowing engineers, equipment failure, maintenance and evacuation problems and antinuclear blockades. Now the latest chapter: the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) is investigating charges from a former control room operator at the damaged Unit II reactor that the company falsified safety data *before* the 1979 accident. This new investigation comes as TMI owners hope to convince the NRC to reopen TMI Unit I—idle since the accident at Unit II—as soon as a few thousand steam generator tubes are patched up. But permission is still out of reach as even the NRC, usually more than willing to let bygones be bygones, searches the bleak past of TMI for some reassurance for the future.

In addition to the charges of lying, the NRC will also be examining documents prepared by vigilant TMI neighbors which show that "GPU management has coerced and harassed employees to protect the company," according to last month's newsletter from People Against Nuclear Energy (P.O. Box 268, Middletown, PA 17057).

The many alarming quirks at TMI and other nuclear plants don't appear to worry Congress. Before its summer recess, the House of Representatives passed an NRC Appropriations Bill containing a provision that ignores local governments that object to nuclear evacuation plans. An actual evacuation or practice drill should be conducted without town or county involvement because, according to the provision's Republican sponsor, no one government entity should stand in the way of emergency plans that are required for every operating nuclear reactor.

The measure is aimed at stifling two rebellions in New York, where one of the four counties involved in evacuation planning around the Indian Point plant has refused to pretend that evacuation is possible. (The NRC ruled last June that state officials could stand in for recalcitrant Rockland County officials, and thus Indian Point is still operating—when it isn't breaking down.)

The second rebellion, on Long Island, is a stand-off: Suffolk County officials refuse to go along with an evacuation plan for the area around the Shoreham plant, say they won't pay a threatened 56 percent-plus rate hike if the plant goes on line, and claim that Shoreham should never, ever open. If the county succeeds in moth-

\$3.4 billion facility plant-owner Long Island Lighting Company promises to sue the county to recover its investment.

As Congress resumes work this month, it will take up another matter on behalf of the nuclear industry. House Resolution 2510 (and Senate bill 1291) will enable the NRC to allow new plants with only a utility-made evacuation plan to operate at full power before safety hearings for a permanent license are completed. A temporary operating license helps a utility avoid those needless delays and costs caused by nuclear critics who try to find safety violations during the license hearings. Even though no utility has been in the position to apply for a temporary license, Congress is considering extending the opportunity for two more years. To find out how this and other proposals make their way through the legislative process and what can be done, call the Nuclear Information and Resource Service, 800-424-2477.

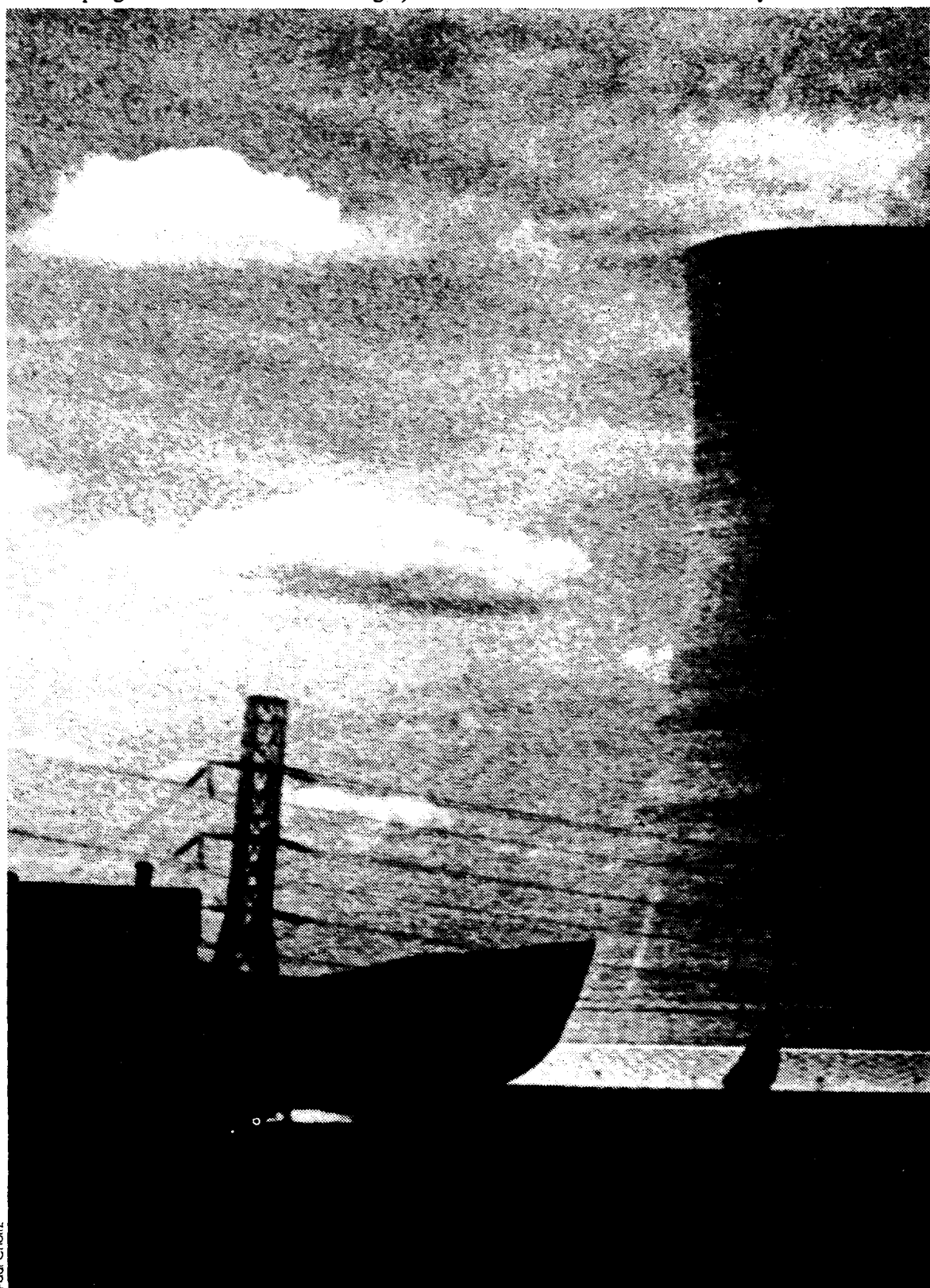
At least one more obstacle to nuclear progress has been over-

come with last month's federal appeals court decision allowing nuclear plant owners to haul highly radioactive waste through every city and town in the country, over the objections of local officials. The ruling wipes out 220 local ordinances restricting or banning nuclear waste transportation, including a ban in New York City. At the request of the utilities who—running out of storage space—desperately needed to ship their nuclear garbage to a dump, the Reagan administration's Department of Transportation (DOT) came to the rescue with new transportation regulations superceding local laws. New York State sued the DOT to stop the new rules from taking effect and won—in the first go-round. DOT, with the support of nearly every utility in the U.S., appealed that decision and emerged victorious. Even though the new regulations send the hot stuff through densely populated areas—right past Bloomingdale's in New York and up Broadway—the DOT successively argued that the risk of accidents would be minimal because the trip, though dangerous, would be quicker than a safer detour. DOT officials estimated that the probability of a serious accident (causing five deaths and up to \$9 billion in damages) is one in 300 million

—but then they probably haven't taken a cab lately through midtown Manhattan during rush hour.

The first shipments under the new rules should begin shortly, according to the NRC. Wisconsin Electric Power Company, Commonwealth Edison (Illinois), Rochester (New York) Electric and General Public Utilities (New Jersey) will be moving their spent nuclear fuel—the most radioactive material in a reactor—from a storage facility in West Valley, N.Y., to the nuclear dump in Morris, Ill., just 60 miles from Chicago (Wisconsin Electric, however, is bringing its garbage back home to its Point Beach reactor). Meanwhile, Southern California Edison will be shipping its spent fuel out of Morris and a Nebraska utility will send some more in. If and when the Department of Energy finally discovers how to permanently (about 20,000 years) store nuclear waste, all that garbage from Morris and other temporary storage sites will hit the road again for delivery to a still-illusive permanent home.

Illinois, New York State and New York City are appealing the transportation decision to the Supreme Court, which has already ruled that states can have a voice in nuclear costs and economics but not in nuclear safety. —Susan Jaffe



Poul Choltz

IN THE NATION



POLITICS

Black leaders split on Jackson's bid

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK Caucus' annual legislative weekends have hitherto been primarily social occasions, highlighted by fashion shows and black-tie banquets and dedicated to raising money for the Caucus rather than advancing or discussing politics. But the Rev. Jesse Jackson's looming presidential candidacy brought a new political focus to the 13th annual gathering, held September 21-24 at the Washington Hilton Hotel.

While the Saturday brunch fashion show (tickets: \$45) still attracted 3,000, a preview of the presidential candidates, featuring Jackson and Ohio Senator John Glenn, drew a standing-room crowd of more than 1,000 people. The question of Jackson's candidacy also

dominated the conversation of the public officials and business and professional leaders who attended the Caucus' weekend events.

Jackson's candidacy has already been opposed by some prominent black leaders, but the weekend showed that he has won significant support among the 21 Caucus members. John Conyers of Detroit, Ron Dellums of Berkeley, Mervyn Dymally of Los Angeles, Edolphus Towns of Brooklyn, Louis Stokes of Cleveland, Charles Hayes and Gus Savage of Chicago and former Rep. Shirley Chisholm have all indicated they would support him.

During the weekend, the case for Jackson's candidacy was made most emphatically by Dellums and Conyers. Both men are on the left of both the Caucus and the Democratic Party. Dellums had considered a presidential bid of his own in 1980, and Conyers toyed with supporting the Citizen Party's Barry Commoner. Both

appeared impressed with Jackson.

Conyers told *In These Times*, "Since I've been talking about jobs, peace and justice since 1968, what can be left but to support the candidate who most reasonably suggests that he would implement that kind of program? He's charismatic, indefatigable, willing to take the risk and the danger that is attached to a black doing this. He's breathed new life into a more uninteresting than normal quadriennial exercise."

Before a weekend workshop audience, Dellums devoted most of the time scheduled for a discussion of defense and military policy to arguing the virtues of a black presidential candidacy. "You have walked yourselves to the position where one of the only things you can do is promote your own candidate," he said.

Dellums cited two reasons for backing a black presidential candidate: he could help register the 10 million unregistered black voters and could also focus attention on issues that only blacks might choose to emphasize. "I've never heard any presidential candidate voluntarily address U.S. policy toward southern Africa," Dellums said.

Dellums was under no illusion that Jackson could win, but he thought that blacks could use Jackson's candidacy to assert their power within the Democratic Party. He argued blacks should demand that the eventual Democratic nominee choose a black running-mate. "We have to say to Mondale and the others, 'You will have to have a black vice-presidential candidate. That's the only way you'll get our votes if you defeat the black candidate,'" Dellums said.

Black divisions.

But during the weekend there was no unanimity behind Jackson's candidacy. Divisions among Caucus members are similar to those expressed by the black movement as a whole.

In an influential article in *PS*, political scientist Marguerite Ross Barnett drew a distinction between supporters and foes of a black presidential candidate. According to Barnett, supporters "are mainly locally based politicians, the more peripheral, less well-known black leaders," while the foes "work mainly within large, nationwide organizations with heterogeneous constituencies."

Barnett's distinction captures the difference between Jackson's support among Baptist ministers and such opponents as the NAACP's Benjamin Hooks, the Urban League's John Jacob and Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young. The distinction also fits the Caucus itself.

Jackson's supporters are mainly outside the congressional political mainstream or are first- or second-term legislators. Past Caucus Presidents Parren Mitchell, Charles Rangel and Walter Fauntroy and Democratic National Committee official Mickey Leland, among others, have withheld their support from Jackson. During the Caucus Weekend, both the National Black Leadership Roundtable, made up of prominent black business leaders, and the Black Leadership Forum, made up of the heads of major black organizations, met and refused to endorse Jackson's presidential bid.

Among the weekend's participants, Winston-Salem Alderwoman Virginia Newell typified the Jackson backers. Newell, a middle-aged professor of mathematics at Winston-Salem State College and Shirley Chisholm's North Carolina campaign manager in 1972, does not have higher political ambitions herself, and her political base is primarily black. She says she likes the idea of Jackson's candidacy because it will build "a power base for blacks" and, like other Jackson supporters, she is "infuriated" with the NAACP for opposing him.

During his Caucus appearances, Jackson gave his supporters much to cheer about. He clearly outshone Glenn when they appeared to answer questions from a panel of Black Caucus members. (Both former Vice-President Walter Mondale and Senator Alan Cranston were unaccountably absent.) Although Glenn won points with the audience for showing up, he answered questions as if he were trying to recall lines from old speeches. He

showed passion and unusual intelligence only when discussing military issues.

By contrast, Jackson has the same combination of charisma and quick-wittedness that made George Wallace one of the most arresting politicians of the '60s. At the Caucus weekend, Jackson showed he was as much at home rousing a middle-class, highly educated black audience as he is energizing ghetto teens. He also showed his critics he is as capable of talking about the Pershing II as voting rights.

Jackson appeared to be making a special effort to answer critics like Andrew Young, who has charged that he is simply running as a black candidate. Jackson argued that his support for voting rights enforcement in the South would lead eventually to passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and the repeal of right-to-work laws. He also attacked the corporate use of tax dollars for automation and overseas investment and the waste in the military budget, which he estimated at an unlikely \$750 billion.

"The critical issues we raise today are not limited merely to an ethnic agenda," Jackson said. "I am not speaking about a black agenda. We are speaking about a national agenda from the perspective of the black experience." (When Jackson said this, Dellums and Rep. Major Owens, another of the panelists, nodded.)

But in defining the composition of his "rainbow coalition," Jackson continued to exclude the white middle class, except if they happen to be women. One version: "We must inspire and unify the masses, broaden the consensus among leaders and form a rainbow coalition of the rejected blacks, the Hispanics, the women, those who are locked out." Jackson's only remotely prominent white supporters to date are former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and environmentalist Barry Commoner.

Jackson's goals.

There are two lingering questions about Jackson's candidacy. One that was repeatedly raised during the weekend was whether it can have any impact on the 1984 election. Considerable fear was expressed.

Continued on page 8

Will he spark a white backlash?

Democratic supporters of Jesse Jackson's candidacy assume that however he affects the nomination battle in the Democratic Party, he will make a Democratic victory over Ronald Reagan more likely by registering black voters in the South and elsewhere. Reagan backers are hoping that Jackson's efforts fall short of the two million he is aiming for, and that a white backlash counteracts the new black vote.

In his newsletter, "American Political Report," Kevin Phillips, author of *The Emerging GOP Majority* and a principal contributor to the Republican Party's "Southern strategy," analyzed the Jackson threat in the South and found it wanting. Noting that to date Jackson and others have registered 190,000 new voters in the South, Phillips estimates that he will only register between 500,000 and 750,000 by election time.

Phillips believes that a pro-Reagan trend among white voters, provoked in part by Jackson's candidacy and by the identification of the Democratic Party with a minority and special-interest image, will more than make up for the new black voters. Phillips cites a Darden Research poll showing that in the last months Reagan's lead over both Walter Mondale and John Glenn among Southern white voters has increased dramatically.

In 1980, Reagan defeated Carter by five-to-four among Southern whites. He now leads Mondale by 64.3 percent to 31.9 percent and Glenn by 59.4 percent to 37.1 percent. If his victory margin in 1984 among white voters is higher than in 1980, reasons Phillips, he will have nothing to fear from Jackson and the Democrats.

—J.B.J.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Jesse Jackson: a catalyst for left and black politics

By David Moberg

CHICAGO

"RUN, JESSE, RUN." THAT has been the encouraging cry from sympathetic audiences as Rev. Jesse Jackson carries on his months-long exploration of a presidential candidacy. Now Jackson seems ready to follow their advice. Last week he took a leave of absence as president of Operation PUSH, the Chicago-based national civil rights organization he founded in 1971, to make his final decision.

Even without announcing, Jackson has added tension and excitement to a Democratic primary lacking controversy among the candidates, dubbed by some as the Sominex Six (before George McGovern made it seven and slightly more interesting). If Jackson does enter, he will be with McGovern on the left end of the spectrum, at least rhetorically. For example, even when he echoes the other candidates' refrain in calling for a new "industrial policy," his condemnation of "corporate rape" packs more punch.

But Jackson's major contribution in moving the Democratic Party and its debate leftward will come from the voters he brings with him as much as from his positions. If Jackson's candidacy stirs a couple million more blacks to register and to vote and sparks a renewed interest in politics among other elements of his proposed "rainbow coalition of the rejected," the base of Democratic Party politics and the national electorate could be swelled by those who have stopped voting because they saw no one speaking on their behalf.

Jackson's primary focus is on the South—where 53 percent of blacks live—even though black registration and voting is now nearly identical in the North and South. One main issue will be demanding enforcement of the Voting Rights Act—which, according to Jackson, Republicans don't enforce and Democrats violate.

"Enforcement of the Voting Rights Act unleashes the power at the bottom to implement progressive programs at the top..." Jackson told the July PUSH convention. "Only black initiative can liberate the South. And only the South can liberate the nation. The reactionary South is blocking the national progressive arteries—and the blocked arteries have given America a stroke."

The problem is not simply rules and registrars that make registration difficult; potential black voting power is diluted through annexations, at-large elections, double primaries and other means. A greater black vote in the South (and Hispanic vote in the Southwest) would mean more blacks, Hispanics and liberal whites in Congress (currently there is only one black Congress member from the South instead of the 10 to 12 that would be likely with proportional representation. This would shift the political balance in Congress, ultimately helping the northern cities, where blacks have gained political power but inherited economically weakened urban shells, as well as providing more liberal-left votes in general.

A surge in black voting and others of a "rainbow coalition"—would also liberalize the South's state and local political bodies (changing such peculiarities in the region as minimum social welfare and labor rights legislation) and thereby reduce some of the pernicious competition for

jobs between North and South.

In 1980 simple parity of black and white registration would have swung Alabama, Massachusetts, New York, North Carolina and Tennessee out of Reagan's column. Reagan's overall margin was 192,000 in eight Southern states where there are three million unregistered black voters. In North Carolina, parity in black registration would retire Senator Jesse Helms—a situation that could be repeated throughout the South.

Despite the obstacles to voting, most surveys indicate the major barrier to registration is voter apathy. That is why, Jackson supporters say, his candidacy could motivate blacks to participate. But some observers worry that a Jackson failure would further crush already injured spirits.

The best outcome.

Jackson insists he will run to win, not just to raise issues and morale. The most optimistic speculation has Jackson drawing liberal, student and peace votes in Iowa and New Hampshire, which would give him a symbolic victory with a strong third-place showing. Then in the next round of primaries, Jackson would do well in the South, gaining momentum at the expense of other candidates.

But this year's primaries are less im-

Apathy is the biggest barrier to voter registration, which is why supporters claim only Jackson can motivate black political participation.

portant and weighted against the underdog challenger, and the convention itself will be heavily loaded with party regulars and elected officials. Jackson lacks support among them, and given his late start, it is unlikely he could mount the kind of campaign that can work party caucuses effectively in such a brief time. Aides say that Jackson's candidacy would not be a regular campaign but a "crusade," much like Harold Washington's mayoral victory in Chicago.

Such a crusade is unlikely to capture the nomination, but it could make blacks a more potent political force. Jackson's campaign would also aim to develop a new, more liberal approach to policy—but a liberalism that surprisingly incorporates deep conservative appeals. It would attempt to build a new alliance rooted in the perspective of everyone who sees themselves as neglected and rejected. And Jackson would frame it in the classically liberal language of equal rights under the law.

"We are consistently 20 percent of the Democratic Party votes, but we are not 20 percent of delegates or national staff at top levels," argues PUSH Vice-President Rev. George E. Riddick, a long-time associate of Jackson. "Our community does not get 20 percent of dollars expended on election campaigns. We're not 20 percent of the candidates. North and South the party wants integrated votes but runs segregated slates. If we are able to raise these essential issues about our survival and get them to take blacks seriously as a political interest group and not just a 'racial minority'—so nobody will think a few appointments will be satisfactory as opposed to blacks bargaining in the whole political milieu—that makes it all worthwhile."

Many observers assume that Jackson is hoping his candidacy would permit him to bargain on policies across the board at the convention. And some other black leaders, who do not trust Jackson and see him as a "Lone Ranger" who has risen to prominence mainly by playing success-

fully to the media, fear that he will succeed in making himself into the official broker for blacks.

Yet Jackson is developing a variety of issues that could make him more than "the black candidate." A black presidential candidate's perspective, he argues, is a more inclusive view of American life than that of a white, middle-class male.

This perspective, Jackson says, calls for a "new course" in foreign and domestic policy. Jackson wants a complete reversal of Central America policy—one that would encourage both a dialog with all factions in El Salvador and friendly relations with Nicaragua, oppose military and dictatorial rule and normalize relations with Cuba. As an issue apartheid in South Africa would rank alongside democratic rights in Poland. Although he opposes the MX, the B-1 bomber, deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles and the vast waste in the military, Jackson does not call for drastic cuts in the military budget (as McGovern does). Yet he supports the nuclear freeze and immed-

A surge in black voting would also liberalize the South, changing weak labor rights laws and reducing job competition between the North and the South.

iate, serious arms reduction talks.

Although Jackson highlights the renegotiation of relationships between blacks and "the key centers of power" to provide "parity, not merely participation," he also extends a hand to white workers in redefining affirmative action to "affirming the American worker and his or her community" against the depredations of capital flight.

Jackson's hard-hitting attacks on plant closings are a bid to include white workers in his coalition of the rejected. All across the country, he says, "corporate America" has "courted cities, received tax breaks and consumer dollars and promised jobs, taxes and economic stability in return. Then, one day, they just packed up and left the community high and dry. These corporate outlaws and rapists must be arrested and their behavior rehabilitated and redirected.... Where is the corporate social responsibility?"

Jackson's version of Democratic industrial policy focuses on corporations negotiating their responsibility to the country and individual communities, in exchange for the tax breaks they have received under Reagan.

Jackson is making a bid to direct his rainbow coalition toward issues of common economic interest, and away from divisive "social issues." But his rainbow coalition, which can include blacks, Hispanics, women, the poor, Asians, the handicapped, students and others, almost never includes "workers" or other major categories with which many white men would identify.

In a speech to the Alabama state legislature, he described a march of 10,000 last May in Norfolk, Va., against attempted resegregation of the schools. He said if they had marched to the nearby shipyard they could have watched the unloading of Japanese products that displace American goods in the market. Jackson remarked, "The schoolyard is not our problem, indeed it is our solution. The shipyard is where we must focus our attention."

Jackson has not abandoned all the so-called social issues. He campaigns for equal rights under the law for blacks, gays, women and everyone—which he intends to contrast with Reagan's support for the rich and privileged. Jackson has taken—and continues to hold—views

Continued on page 8



Steve Kogan

Caucus

Continued from page 6

pressed that Jackson had already waited too long before running. Before April, when the selection should be decided, there are only four state primaries in which Jackson could hope to win delegates—Alabama, Florida, Georgia and Illinois.

As Howard University political scientist Alvin Thornton noted, Jackson's best chance may be to recruit black public officials, who will be appointed delegates to the 1984 Democratic Convention under

the new rules. But the other Democratic candidates have already won the allegiance of many of these officials, who, like Atlanta's Young or Birmingham's Richard Arrington, both owe their political standing and rest their future on complex black-white intra-party backing.

The other question is what will the long-term impact of Jackson's campaign be? Among his supporters there appear to be two schools of thought. Some, like Dellums, view Jackson's effort as a national version of Harold Washington's successful mayoral campaign in Chicago. They don't believe Jackson will succeed this time, but they believe he is laying the groundwork, within the framework of American party politics, for a greater black presence. Both Dellums and Conyers talked of tripling the number of black elected officials.

The second school of thought, articulated by Thornton, his colleague at How-

ard Ronald Walters and Manning Marable, is that Jackson's candidacy could lay the groundwork for a black political party. This party would not necessarily be electoral in form, but would replace the NAACP and Urban League as the political representative of blacks.

Jackson was rumored to be close to announcing his candidacy during the Caucus weekend, but at a press conference called after his appearance, he ruled out any immediate announcement. Jackson said he wanted to see if a greater consensus could be formed among black leaders. He had won important support at the Caucus, but without near unanimity Jackson stands little chance of securing the necessary funds and delegates. Some Jackson supporters interpret his statement as a means of putting pressure on black leaders, but others believe that Jackson has become genuinely hesitant about going ahead.

In recent years Jackson has emphasized negotiated "covenants" with major corporations that promise more black employment, franchises, vendor contracts and commitment to black banks, advertising agencies and colleges. Jackson wants to strengthen the institutions of black America, including its businesses, in part by forcing corporations to acknowledge the importance of black consumers. Under the banner of "trade, not aid," PUSH has reached agreements with Burger King, Heublein's Kentucky Fried Chicken, Coca-Cola and Seven-Up. Jackson claims these agreements represent \$1 billion in economic opportunities. An attempted boycott of Budweiser drew fire from other black leaders and was recently called off without an official covenant but with a letter from PUSH approving Budweiser's plans.

Jackson's overall thrust has been to demand "our share" for blacks, preserving the black community (rather than emphasizing integration) and encouraging the growth of a black middle class that can form a political and economic elite to lead blacks to progress. Consequently, despite his new commitment to a rainbow coalition and recent attempts to form alliances with Hispanics, Jackson does not have a strong history as a builder of coalitions.

How Jackson rates.

A recent Garth poll showed Jackson with an 86 percent favorable rating among blacks and only 4 percent unfavorable. (Among whites he had a 28 percent favorable and 37 percent unfavorable, indicating the strong negative response Jackson's advocacy of black interests has drawn.) A poll of *Ebony* readers showed 62 percent supporting a presidential bid by Jackson.

If a candid poll were taken among black leaders, the results would likely be more ambiguous. Although many admire him for his outspoken advocacy, his spellbinding speaking ability, his sharp repartee, the breadth of issues he addresses and his attempts at creative alternatives for the civil rights movement at a time when it has otherwise been mori-

Continued on page 22



A weekly newsletter covering vital trends in Latin America

Latin America Press

- human rights
- church movements
- grassroots organizations
- economic structures
- women's involvement
- ecology
- defense of native peoples

Airmailed to subscribers 48 times a year

Yearly subscription \$40.00 for 48 issues
Write check to LATINAMERICA PRESS
Mail to Finance Dept.
Apartado 5594, Lima 100, Peru
Sample copies on request; ask about NOTICIAS ALIADAS in Spanish

NEWS • DOCUMENTATION • ANALYSIS

Jackson

Continued from page 7

that may make some of his liberal allies uncomfortable, yet may possibly win him grudging respect from conservatives.

For example, although Jackson supports freedom of choice in abortion (including federal funding for poor women), he has been an outspoken abortion opponent and has held up traditional family relations as an exemplary model. In recent years he has crusaded against certain popular songs whose lyrics he believes encourage sexually irresponsible behavior.

One of his major programs over the past six years has been Push for Excellence (now PUSH-Excel), which attempted to motivate students to stay in school and study harder and to encourage their parents to keep closer tabs on their work. It was criticized by many blacks as placing the onus of racism, the underfunding of black schools and of black unemployment as the main causes of black educational failure and putting the burden on

blacks themselves. But for years Jackson has emphasized a black moral and cultural renewal, adding to his famous morale-boosting litany ("I am somebody! I may be poor, but I am somebody!"), another stanza: "Nobody can save us, from us, for us, but us."

Push-Excel is currently undergoing a federal audit of \$1.7 million received over a five-year period until grants ended two years ago. PUSH general counsel John Bustamente says it is a routine check, applied to thousands of contracts, and represents disagreements between auditors over what are legitimate expenses and what is adequate documentation. He is convinced that PUSH will have a strong case assembled by mid-November.

Jackson's appeals to black self-help and character-building and his conservative sentiments touch a responsive chord in much of the black community, especially among the aspiring middle class that forms the PUSH base. For all of his posturing and militant rhetoric in the past, Jackson has always represented a mainstream liberal politics with a nationalist tinge that is not anti-capitalist. In response to critics who say he is a modern Booker T. Washington, he simply acknowledges the inspiration.

DEADLY CONNECTIONS

Latin American Intervention, Nuclear Escalation and the Economic Crisis: A Socialist Response

A public meeting opening the first convention of the Democratic Socialists of America

Speakers include:

GUILLERMO UNCO, President of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador;

RANDALL FORSBER, initiator of the Nuclear Freeze campaign;

RON DELLUMS, Congressperson from Oakland, CA.;

BARBARA EHRENREICH, feminist author of *The Hearts of Men* and DSA Vice-Chair

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14; 7:30 PM; \$5 DONATION
WASHINGTON IRVING HIGH SCHOOL, AT IRVING PLACE
AND EAST 17TH STREET.

ODETTA CONCERT

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15 • 8 P.M. • \$5 DONATION
SITE TO BE ANNOUNCED.

DSA Convention Workshops and Forums: Dorothy Healey, Manning Marable, Irving Howe, Ruth Messinger, Frank Ackerman and others.
Observer Status: All three days, October 14-16, including above events: \$25 One day: \$10.

For More Information: Contact: DSA, 212-260-1078.

ICARUS FILMS

Your source for films on

CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Americas in Transition

A concise overview of US relations with the region.

El Salvador: Another Vietnam

A powerful examination of the war in El Salvador.

First Look

A beautiful, surprising look at art in today's Cuba.

Seeds of Revolution

A perceptive investigation of Honduras' politics and economy.

Thank God and the Revolution

A unique picture of the church in Nicaragua.

Todos Santos Cuchumatán

A moving portrait of changing life in a Guatemalan Indian village.

These and many other films are part of our **Central America Film Library**. Call or write today for more information. **ICARUS FILMS**, 200 Park Ave. South, Suite 1319, N.Y., N.Y. 10003, (212) 674-3375



NICARAGUAN EXILES

Contra groups active in U.S.

By Paul Rauber

SAN FRANCISCO

THE CIA-BACKED ANTI-SANDINISTA *contras* are expanding their operations from the Nicaraguan border to the cities of the U.S. Various *contra* factions have opened offices throughout the country in an open attempt to woo the Latino population. But here in San Francisco, the coming of the *contras* has coincided with an upsurge in political violence against left Latin America solidarity organizations. A campaign of systematic harassment against the local Nicaragua Solidarity Committee ended late last month with the destruction of a committee member's apartment. The attack had been preceded by days of threatening phone calls: "Communists! We know who you are. We're going to get you."

Nicaraguan exiles may be behind recent attacks on solidarity groups.

San Francisco was once what local *contra* leader Jorge Mestayer calls "the most Sandinista city in America." In the years before the victory over Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza in July 1979, the city was a hotbed of revolutionary activity. Its largely Latino Mission district contains many of the Bay Area's estimated 60,000 Nicaraguans and 80,000 Salvadorans and Guatemalans, many of them political refugees from repression at home. It was ripe ground for Sandinista organizing.

The Ortega brothers, Daniel and Humberto (now coordinator of the junta and defense minister, respectively) were frequent visitors. Many local activists returned home after the victory to assume high positions in the Sandinista government. But with the departure of many of the most politically active exiles, the door was left open to the counter-revolution, in the form of a number of groups that are now threatening to turn San Francisco into another Miami.

The Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) is the largest and best organized of the local *contra* groups. Their office publishes a newspaper and magazine, distributes slick propaganda and organizes regular marches through the Mission barrio along with other right-wing Latin organizations.

In Central America, the FDN is based in Honduras, where it launches attacks on the northern provinces of Nicaragua with the backing of the Honduran army and of CIA tactical and logistic support. Of all the *contra* groups, the FDN is most closely associated with Somoza's hated National Guard. Ex-Guardia officials dominate the FDN army chief of staff, but the local organization tries to downplay the Somocista connection. FDN literature now "rejects any attempt to link us with the Somocista past. The Somoza dictatorship died in July 1979, buried politically in history and physically with the person of the Dictator." Still, the FDN's political directorate includes Enrique Bermudez, Somoza's former military attache in Washington, and Alfonso Callejas, Somoza's vice-president from 1969-1972. In this country, the FDN claims offices in Washington, New York, New Orleans, San An-

tonio, Los Angeles, San Jose, San Francisco and Miami.

In the past year there have been increasing attacks upon and harassment of leftist Latin American groups in the Bay Area. Until recently, many of the groups were hesitant to discuss the attacks, but various organizations are now meeting to compare notes and plan strategy. The impetus for these emergency measures came in mid-September when the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee was targeted. For Susan Gomez, it started when she found that her telephone number had been placed in a number of local sex tabloids. Then there were the phone calls at all hours of the day and night to Gomez and two other women on the committee.

Then on the night of September 13, Gomez found in her bedroom a threatening note tied to a rock, as though it had been thrown through an open window. But she soon discovered that the note was made of letters cut and pasted from a newspaper in her own apartment, indicating that someone had been inside.

Alarmed, Gomez spent the night away. When she returned, she found the threat had become reality. "I came home Thursday and found the house totally destroyed. Drawers were taken out, clothes were strewn around, everything was turned upside down. Nothing was taken, just smashed."

In the publicity around the attack on Gomez, a number of other actions in San Francisco fell into perspective. Last year the Mission's "Casa Nicaragua" was the target of an arson attempt. *El Tecolote*, a left bilingual newspaper, was broken into in March. The attackers ransacked the paper's Central America files and stole its typesetting machine. Many groups report telephone harassment and threats, including the Socialist Workers Party, the Nicaragua Information Center, Casa El Salvador and the local CISPES chapter, which is busy working on a San Francisco ballot measure calling for an end to U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

A Miami-based paramilitary training camp run by Alpha 66 called Camp Yumuri (after a river in Cuba) is operating in the San Bernardino Mountains in Southern California. Sergeant Jack Fisher of the San Bernardino County Sheriff's Department isn't very upset about the camp. He describes Yumuri as "just a piece of property [200 acres] this Alpha 66 group used to train on a little bit." After reports surfaced in the local press that the camp was being used to train Nicaraguan *con-*

tras, Fisher claims, "We went out there and told them they couldn't use real bullets, and that was that." According to a lawsuit brought against President Reagan and senior members of his administration by Bay Area Representative Ron Delums, an instructor at Yumuri known as

Susan Gomez of San Francisco's Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee found a threatening note in her apartment September 13 and later discovered it had been ransacked (below).



NICARAGUA

Charges of Sandinista anti-Semitism unfounded

By Paul Glickman & Ilana DeBare

MANAGUA

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION's campaign to isolate the government of Nicaragua received a boost this summer when an American Jewish group accused the Sandinistas of anti-Semitism. According to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), the Sandinistas drove "the entire small Jewish community [of Nicaragua]...into exile," seized and desecrated the country's only synagogue and confiscated Jewish-

owned property.

The national wire services repeated the charges, and a right-wing Washington, D.C., weekly ran the story under the headline "Little Hitlers in Managua." White House press briefings included references to Nicaraguan "persecution" of Jews. President Reagan told a group of Jewish leaders in July that Sandinista anti-Semitism was "one more reason that we must give assistance to those in Central America who are fighting totalitarian anti-religious forces."

Although the allegations received widespread publicity, little attention was paid to human rights investigations by the

IN THESE TIMES OCTOBER 5-11, 1983 9
"Dario Ramirez" is actually Jim Blackwell, an alleged U.S. government agent.

While the FDN officials deny being involved in local paramilitary activities, the Nicaraguan Democratic Union (UDN) openly boasts of it. The UDN operates out of San Jose, Costa Rica, and is led by Fernando "El Negro" Chamorro, a longtime anti-Somocista turned anti-Sandinista. Local UDN leader Eduardo Sacasa jets between California and Central America, and likes to have his picture taken holding automatic weapons. Sacasa told the San Jose *Mercury* last year that his group got guns and grenades from "friends" and sent them on to Central America.

San Francisco solidarity groups are trying to make sure that the recent attacks backfire. "This kind of thing outrages people more than it intimidates them," says Susan Gomez. "We might be somewhat personally scared, but it does not intimidate our work." And the Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee is trying to pressure the San Francisco Police Department into investigating the case aggressively.

Paul Rauber writes for the San Francisco Bay Guardian.

United Nations, the Organization of American States, Pax Christi and Americas Watch, all of which found no evidence of Nicaraguan anti-Semitism. Nicaragua's two human rights commissions also challenged ADL's conclusions. Finally, the State Department's Bureau of Human Rights and the U.S. embassy in Managua (which conducted an in-depth survey in July) concluded the charges of anti-Semitism were unfounded.

ADL claimed all of Nicaragua's Jews had been forced out of the country. In fact, a small remnant of the community remains in Nicaragua, and these people dispute the contention that the Jews were driven out.

Most of Nicaragua's Jewish population arrived from Europe in the '20s and '30s and many eventually entered business under the patronage of Anastasio Somoza Garcia, the first ruler in the Somoza dynasty. At its height in the '60s, the community numbered about 50 families, many of whom left the country after the 1972 earthquake that leveled

Continued on page 22

IMF

Continued from page 3

by the banks every time a major international loan is "rescheduled" and the repayment terms extended. The fees are reported to be immense—\$200 million last year in the case of Mexico, \$60 million for Brazil, \$55 million for Argentina and \$7.5 million for tiny Costa Rica. Virtually all of it is pure profit, even though the banks like to describe it as a service fee. It is an enviable racket: the banks profit when Third World countries stay abreast of their debt payments and they profit when they fall behind.

Add to this the quite pleasant terms of compensation for IMF executives as they rush around the globe saving the world from economic ruin, including salaries in

the \$100,000 range and access to personal loans set at 8 percent less than the federal mortgage rate. Austerity, it would appear, is good for some but not all.

• *An invitation to revolution:* The person at the end of the international credit line is the Third World worker or peasant who sees the price of food skyrocket because the IMF has ordered the removal of subsidies, whose wages have been cut (on IMF orders) or who is out of work because his employer is the latest victim of an IMF-induced credit crunch. Things would work out neatly if only he or she would suffer in silence, but that is rarely the case.

In Argentina, for instance, where the foreign debt totals \$43 billion, one worker in three is presently on strike as the discredited military government struggles to implement the terms of an IMF austerity plan. Chile (\$19 billion in foreign debt) is experiencing a revolutionary uprising against the Pinochet regime. IMF stric-

tures on the Philippines (\$13 billion in foreign debt; sometimes described as "Asia's only Latin American debtor") have contributed to the popular discontent that has resulted in mass rioting against President Ferdinand Marcos in the streets of Manila.

In Brazil, meanwhile, there have been periodic hunger riots since the spring, and the leftist opposition has made the call for a unilateral moratorium on international debt payments one of its chief demands. The IMF suffered a serious rebuff on September 23, meanwhile, when members of the national legislature voted against cutting back the national system of wage indexation, in which wages are adjusted periodically for inflation. The "reform" had been a key ingredient in the Fund's economic reorganization plan for Brazil. Without it, the fate of the IMF's "rescue plan" for Brazil is an open question.

• *The sheer illogic of it all:* The Reagan administration generally favors fiscal discipline, except, of course, when it comes to military spending or, more recently, the IMF. Both add to the \$200-million-a-year federal deficit, which, more than anything else, is responsible for keeping interest rates high, thereby adding to

Third World debt woes and virtually insuring that the current recovery will be a passing phenomenon. IMF-orchestrated lending simply means that the crunch, when it comes, will be all the greater since the volume of international lending will have grown.

But where groups like Free the Eagle go so woefully wrong is in their constant harping on the issue of greed, and it is especially offensive when applied to the Third World, the chief victims—not the perpetrators—of the international debt farce.

Actually, the problem has little to do with greed, but rather with the decade-long inflation of the '70s, which itself represented a breakdown in the monetary accords that prevailed in the West from World War II on. Inflation meant that it was better to put one's money in hard assets—precious metals, gems, real estate and, above all, oil—because they were so rapidly appreciating; or to borrow, because it would always be possible to pay back in depreciated currency. Third World countries merely followed the logic of economic events, and they were cheered on in this at every step by the major banks and the governments of the industrial nations.

THE 1984 CALENDAR

An American History
created by Howard Levine and Tim Keefe
essay by Nat Hentoff

- A day by day history of the increasing erosion of civil liberties in the United States.
- Each month illustrated by an original B&W photograph of 1984 culture in American society.
- Each month opens to 17" x 34".

Please send me _____ 1984 Calendars at \$10.95 each.

Total enclosed is \$ _____ in check or money order payable to: Point Blank Press, Ltd., P.O. Box 30123, Lansing, MI 48909.

Charge to my ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard

Charge Card # _____

Expiration Date _____

Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

"A piece of grim humor that Orwell would have enjoyed."
— Bernard Crick
(George Orwell's biographer)

"The appropriate calendar for 1984."
— USA Today



March

15

1971—William Rehnquist on surveillance: "I do not believe it violates the particular constitutional rights of those who are surveyed."

1972—A disguised Howard Hunt visits Dita Beard to discuss the authenticity of her memo. (see March 18)

1975—Elsa Gutierrez admits being an IRS spy in Operation Leprechaun and reveals she turned in her father. (see March 25)

1982—Pres. Reagan says journalists should "trust us and put themselves in our hands."

Catch hold of a Lifeline



The live album that captures the warmth, power and excitement of their historic collaboration.

See them in concert together

Holly Near
Ronnie Gilbert
OF THE WEAVERS

with Jeff Langley

& Susan Freulich
SIGN LANGUAGE ARTIST

CATCH THEM IN THESE CITIES

9/23 Philadelphia, PA 215-893-1930 or 301-986-1153 • 9/24 Kansas City, MO 816-753-6617 or 816-931-5794

• 9/25 Denver, CO

Datatix Outlets or 303-393-6706

9/30 Phoenix, AZ 602-966-9276 or 602-965-3434 • 10/1 Los Angeles, CA 213-956-6624 • 10/2 Berkeley, CA 415-642-9988 or 415-642-9990 TTY

10/7 & 10/10 New York City 212-874-2424 or 212-874-6770 or 212-929-1585 • 10/8 Minneapolis, MN 612-224-9592 • 10/9 Chicago, IL 608-362-3222 • For More Information contact Redwood Records (415) 428-9191

Look for LIFELINE in your local stores or mail order from IN THESE TIMES "Best Buys".

ALSO AVAILABLE ON CASSETTE

Labor Creates - \$6.75
black ink on red, tan

Hug Your Kids - \$6.50
white ink on black or green 50/50 shirt

Freeze - \$7.25
purple & blue ink on white beefy T-shirt

Career - \$6.95
black ink on red

Central America - \$6.95
black on yellow 50/50, tan, light blue

Emma Goldman - \$6.50
ivory ink on purple 50/50 shirt black on red all cotton shirt

Sure, I'm a Marxist - \$6.50
black ink on red, tan, light blue

Exxon - \$6.95
red, white & blue on light blue

Save the Humans - \$6.50
blue ink on light blue

Hand-Crafted Copper & Enamel Pins
beautifully made jewelry
pins \$2.50 stars \$2.00

Educate/Agitate/Organize
Capitalism is organized crime
Feed the poor/not the Pentagon
Woman's place is in her union
Be realistic/Demand the impossible
IWW Sabo Cat (black on red)
Red or pink stars (1/2 inch diameter)
U.S. Out of South Africa
Ban The Klan

Is your washroom breeding Bolsheviks?

Newly Re-issued!
Bolsheviks \$3.00
red & black ink on white
11 x 17 poster

BUTTONS — 50¢ each (High quality lock or safety pin)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 8. Not Everybody Can Live Upstream | 87. I Read Banned Books |
| 9. Question Authority | 88. Wearing Buttons is Not Enough |
| 11. Better Active Today than Radioactive Tomorrow | 89. I Shall Continue to be an Impossible Person so long as those who are now possible remain possible—Bakunin |
| 12. Eat the Rich | 90. Don't Presume I'm Straight |
| 16. Mutants for Nuclear Power | 96. Every Mother is a Working Mother |
| 18. I am a Shameless Agitator | 98. My Karma ran over my Dogma |
| 20. Minds are like Parachutes—They Only Function when Open | 102. I you've seen one nuclear war you've seen them all (with 2 cockroaches and rubble graphic) |
| 38. God is Coming and is She Pissed | 103. The Future is in Our Hands (see T-Shirt graphic) |
| 48. People Before Profits | 106. Teach Peace |
| 56. Go Reds—Smash State | 107. You Can't Hug a Child with Nuclear Arms |
| 64. Sure, I'm a Marxist! (see T-Shirt graphic) | 108. If The People Lead, Eventually The Leaders Will Follow |
| 67. We Are Not Amused | 109. All We Are Saying is Give Peace a Chance |
| 71. Wild Women Don't Get the Blues | 110. Military Intelligence is a Contradiction in Terms |
| 72. We Are Everywhere | 111. If You Think The System is Working Ask Someone Who Isn't |
| 73. The Moral Majority is Neither | 114. Nuke a Gay Whale for Christ |
| 74. U.S. Out of North America | 116. Another KGB Dupe for Peace |
| 81. Unemployed | 117. El Salvador Is Spanish for Vietnam |
| 83. Why do we kill people who kill people to show people that killing people is wrong? | |
| 84. Nuclear War—can spoil your whole day | |
| 86. If I Can't Dance—I Don't Want to be Part of Your Revolution (see T-shirt graphic) | |

T-Shirts
all cotton unless noted

Many more items available in our
FREE CATALOG
Wholesale inquiries welcomed.

MAIL ORDER INFORMATION:

Minimum order \$3.00 (postage is paid).

Send check or money order with your order.

Shirt sizes are: S 34-36; M 38-40; L 40-42; XL 46

**SATISFACTION
GUARANTEED**

Northern Sun Merchandising
1519 E. Franklin Avenue, Box ITT
Minneapolis, MN 55404
(612) 874-1540

By Jan Pager

JOHANNESBURG

SOUTH AFRICANS OCCASIONALLY display a grim sense of humor about their country's apartheid policies and the repressive apparatus that enforces them. Back in 1979, just before an area called Ciskei became "independent," there were plenty of jokes about President-elect Lennox Sebe and his "country," whose only resource was exploitable human labor.

But no one is laughing anymore. Despite strong competition from the governments of other "independent" bantustans, Sebe has undoubtedly emerged as the most brutal and corrupt of the bantustan puppet leaders.

By mid-September 1983, Sebe faced growing resistance to his regime from other Ciskei officials, from the people of his "country" and from direct guerrilla action. A liberal South African lawyers' organization noted "with concern" in early August "the signs of social and political disintegration in the Ciskei, a political unit not created by the people nor governed with their consent. The recent wave of repressive measures is inevitable in such a society."

The Ciskei has probably been headed for trouble since Sebe's Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) accepted "independence" from South Africa. One of the smaller bantustans—black-designated regions under the apartheid system—Ciskei contains poor agricultural land and could never be economically viable as an independent unit. Its main source of revenue can only be the sale of labor by migrant workers in the rest of South Africa.

But the Ciskei also contains Mdantsane, the largest black ghetto in South Africa after Soweto. Located just outside East London in the Eastern Cape, Mdantsane has remained highly politicized since a series of strike waves in the late '70s and early '80s. Many of Mdantsane's million or so residents are skilled industrial workers in East London's automobile and other manufacturing plants (including factories owned by Ford, GM and Firestone). The black population around East London is organized into a strong trade union movement and active civic groups, and worker and community struggles have probably been more effectively linked there than in any other part of the country.

Sebe's reputation for brutality began to grow back in 1981, when the Ciskei security forces—rather than the South African police—began harassing trade union activists near East London. While the Pretoria government kept its hands technically clean, Sebe's thugs moved in. Detentions without trial, torture and disappearances became relatively common.

Such a shifting of focus, away from the central Pretoria government to the bantustan leaders' repressive moves, has always been an inherent aspect of apartheid. Critics of apartheid point out that by allotting black South Africans to nominally independent homelands, the Pretoria government—which pays as much as 90 percent of the bantustan administrations' budgets—could redirect blacks' anger against the puppets, rather than against the white minority regime. Most black leaders have steadfastly refused to participate in bantustan governments, or even to vote in elections. Only corrupt and greedy politicians like Sebe have been willing to accept the "independence" South Africa is willing to grant.

Total control.

Today, Sebe's CNIP controls everything in the Ciskei—from birth certificates to drought relief. Charges of corruption are rife, and one group of Ciskei "citizens" has even tried to get reassigned to some other bantustan that might be less blatant. But Sebe has run into much more opposition than his fellow bantustan leaders, and his grip on the Ciskei now appears somewhat insecure.

In July, the Ciskei administration announced an increase in fares for the gov-



Photographer unknown

SOUTH AFRICA

Black homeland leader does dirty work for Pretoria

ernment-owned buses that carry workers from their Mdantsane homes to East London's factories. Trade Union and community leaders declared a bus boycott—a well-worn tactic in South Africa, where busfares are a major expense for black workers. Forced by apartheid geography to commute from black-designated ghettos to jobs in white-owned enterprises, black workers have often chosen to crowd into taxis and trains, or even walk miles, rather than accept busfare hikes. So the Mdantsane boycott call came as no big surprise.

The real surprise was the boycott's overwhelming success—and Sebe's response. Because the buses provide a major source of the Ciskei administration's revenue, Sebe tried desperately to break the boycott. Armed police stopped taxis carrying workers from Mdantsane. Police forced taxi passengers onto buses. (In several cases, the commuters then stopped the buses outside the township, jumped off and stoned the buses.)

The community stood firm, however, and more than 100 empty buses were petrol-bombed and stoned as they drove through Mdantsane in July and early August. Several drivers were injured, and by late August, the Ciskei administration claimed it had lost well over one million rand in damages and lost fares during the five-week boycott.

Then the Ciskei security forces stepped up the attack, intimidating and even shooting black workers who tried to take trains into work. Several bodies were found in bushes and shallow graves near Mdantsane, while residents told of gun-waving police blocking entrances to train stations. Nearly 850 Mdantsane residents were arrested for participation in the bus boycott, for trade union activity and for failing to pay the Ciskei "development tax." Some employers in East London began fining workers for lateness and absenteeism due to transport problems. The president of East London's chamber of commerce warned workers they could lose up to 30 percent of their incomes.

As the tension mounted, Sebe's administration went through a series of

convulsions including, apparently, an attempted coup by Lennox' brother Charles. Formerly the notorious head of Ciskei's security forces, Charles and his alleged co-conspirators (including another less well-known Sebe brother) are in Ciskei jails—though separated from the trade union activists. The violence spread. The house of one CNIP official was petrol-bombed, killing his four-year-old son, and the homes of another Ciskei official and a bus company guard were stoned. In early August, a government office where Mdantsane rents were collected was burned down.

Lennox Sebe, meanwhile, fled the Ciskei for a rest in a nearby Holiday Inn—from which he announced in mid-August that a drop in diesel prices eliminated the need for the bus fare increase.

Own momentum.

But now the boycott seems to have taken on a momentum of its own. Thousands of students have begun to boycott classes. By early September, at least 10 government-run schools in the East London area had been burned down, seven of them in Mdantsane.

Once again, the Ciskei administration responded with violence. Groups of knobkerrie-wielding thugs have been sent into Mdantsane to enforce the 10 p.m. to 4:30 a.m. curfew. Residents say they are rounded up hours before the curfew starts and are forced to spend the night crowded into Mdantsane's Sisa Dukashe stadium, where many of them are also beaten up.

In response, Mdantsane residents are forming militias to protect themselves. As one resident said, "We will meet violence with violence if this sort of thing doesn't stop."

Thozamile Gqweta, head of one of South Africa's most militant black unions, announced from hiding that his union, SAAWU, is seeking an urgent court order to stop Ciskei's police and army from assaulting union members. On September 5, Sebe banned SAAWU.

In early September, a new dimension to the Ciskei struggle appeared. The bantustan's "consulate" offices in Jo-

hannesburg and Pretoria were both bombed. The African National Congress claimed responsibility for both attacks, in which no one was seriously injured. The explosions—one of which was inside the Carleton Center, in the heart of Johannesburg—underlined the links between the violence in the Ciskei and the white central government.

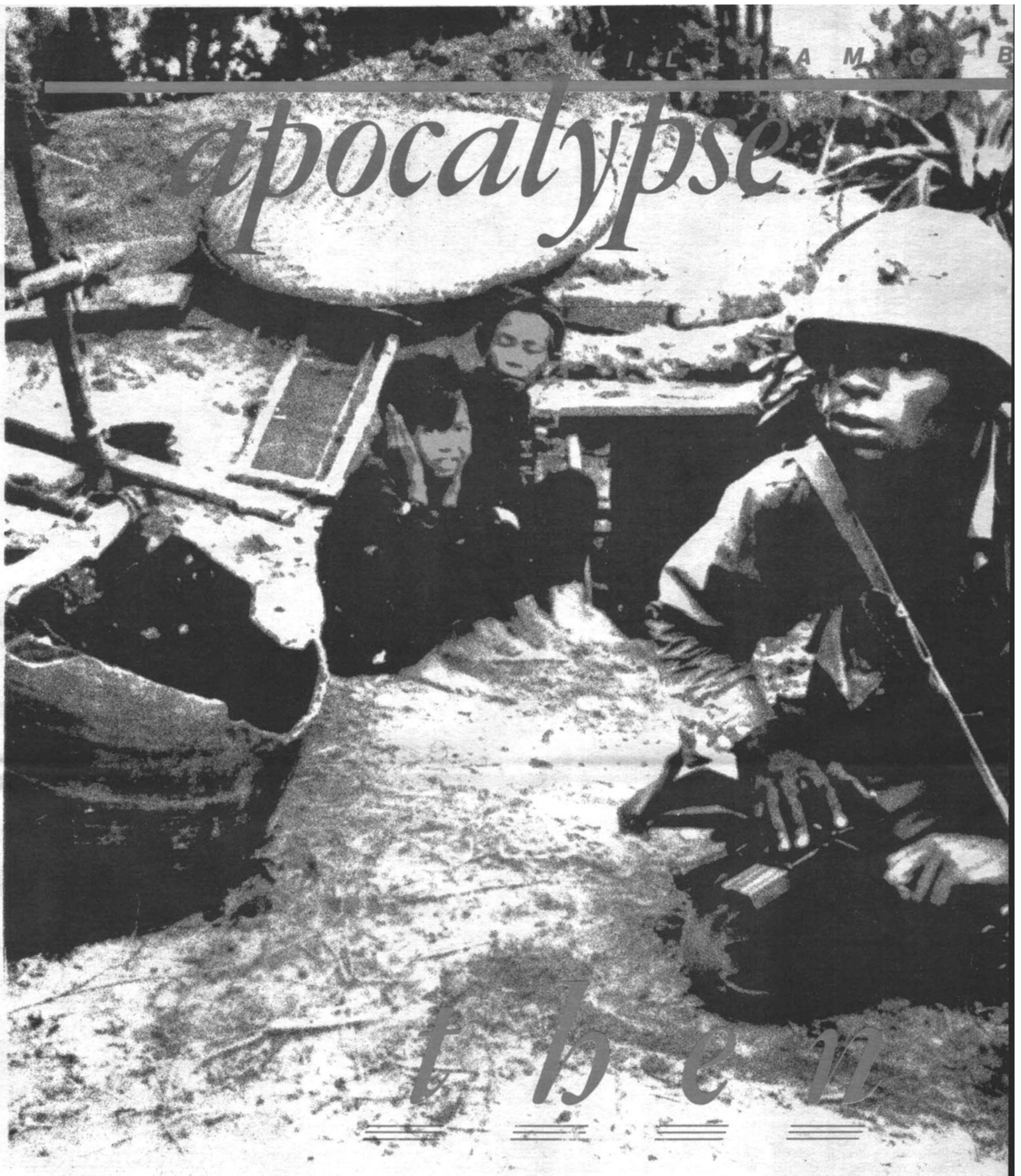
Yet the violence in the Ciskei is hardly isolated. The last three months have seen a level of popular resistance and guerrilla activity higher than at any time since the 1976 uprising. But the Pretoria government is now willing to use the bantustan security forces, rather than its own army and police.

In Durban, the central government's attempt to place the black township Lamontville under the Kwazulu bantustan administration is meeting fierce resistance. Lamontville, the scene of countless demonstrations and riots in the last few months, is now so highly mobilized that white government officials admit they cannot safely go there. Some 7,000 residents voted in late August to fight against incorporation into Kwazulu. They refuse to give up their South African rights and citizenship.

So far, the Pretoria regime has declined to comment openly on the situa-

Critics point out that by allotting blacks to these "independent" homelands, South Africa can direct blacks' anger on to the puppet leaders instead of the apartheid Pretoria regime.

tion in the Ciskei, since it treats Ciskei as an "independent national state," and the violence as an internal affair. Its ultimate responsibility remains clear, although no one knows what will happen if Sebe's government collapses or the violence continues. For the moment, with the South African army massing for another invasion of Angola and spread out along other international borders, Pretoria seems content to leave the matter in the hands of Sebe and his security forces. ■



the Public Broadcasting Service's documentary series *Vietnam: A Television History* could not have come at a more ominous historical moment. Produced as a detached "objective" account of the Vietnam war, it premieres at a time when the U.S. is on the verge of warfare on at least two different fronts.

The series is a major effort to define the important issues and events of the Vietnam war for the American public and will undoubtedly affect people's attitudes toward the prospect of renewed military action in Central America, the Mideast and other parts of the Third World.

Consisting of 13 one-hour segments, to be shown weekly on PBS stations beginning October 4, the series starts with France's colonization of Southeast Asia in the late 19th century, follows the defeat of France by the Vietminh in 1954, and then progressively traces America's escalating involvement in Vietnam from the early military advisors in the late '50s and early '60s through the ground war and bombing campaigns of the 1965-73 period. (The final segment, "Legacies," which summarizes the war's effects was still in production when the series was previewed in mid-September. This omission is important, since how the show attempts to link the past to the to the present will determine much of its impact.)

Vietnam: A Television History is a project of the PBS affiliate in Boston. Originally WGBH wanted to produce the entire series itself, but funding problems caused it to seek outside assistance, which came eventually from British and French

television networks. Financing came from many different sources: other PBS stations, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Chubb group of Insurance Companies, the George D. Smith Fund, the Christopher Reynolds Foundation and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Richard Ellison, Stanley Karnow and Lawrence W. Lichty are the three men most responsible for the series. Ellison and Karnow both have long experience in journalism, especially television news. Lichty, a communications scholar, is the principal film archivist for the project. Several different producers worked on various segments of the series. And apparently everyone who worked on the series was briefed by more than 50 historians, social scientists and other authorities during a month-long seminar on the war.

Many Americans will undoubtedly view the sheer massiveness of this production apparatus as a definitive sign of the series' accuracy—as if the involvement of so many people and organizations implies that a consensus was reached, that the "true" was separated from the "false," and that important information on the war was retained while the trivia was dismissed. However, in an enterprise composed of so many disparate parts, it is more likely that the final "cut" of *A Television History* is the result of prolonged conflicts and negotiated solutions.

According to one "leak," some of the series' producers were under pressure to "tone down" their segments to satisfy unnamed sponsors.

Faces of the other side.

PBS' version of Vietnam makes two vitally important ideological "breaks" with the network treatments of the war, al-



**PBS' VIETNAM SERIES
PROVIDES SOME STARTLING
TESTIMONY FROM SOLDIERS
AND CIVILIANS ALONG WITH A
LOT OF LIES AND OMISSIONS
FROM U.S. OFFICIALS.**

though the vast majority of material simply reiterates lies and excuses made by U.S. officials. For the first time in American television history, the public will get to see and hear at some length the previously hidden faces of the other side. Interviews with Vietnamese revolutionaries abound in this series.

The immense pride in Communist leader Pham Von Dong's voice is clear when he speaks of his imprisonment by the French in the '30s: "The prisons were schools. Places where revolutionaries trained themselves." Most of the interviews, however, are with the people who actually did the fighting against the French and Americans: colonels, lieuten-

ants, village and district political cadres, doctors, nurses, spies and just plain peasants—and at least a third to a half of them women.

Some of the interviewees are exuberant in marking their place in history, others look and sound more worn when making their testimonies. And then there are those whose eyes are so full of hate and whose faces and voices express such deep sadness that it seems, while surviving the decades of war in the physical sense, in a way they died a long time ago. One old woman holds up her hand to the camera with her palm up and fingers curled as if grasping something and says that after American planes had dropped napalm (jellied gasoline) on her village all she could find of her family of nine people was a "handful of bones."

The naked and the dead.

Vietnam: A Television History also radically breaks from past network television news treatments of the war by allowing the American public to see just what dead and dying people look like. During the war, network news edited its film portrayal of dead and dying people according to the film convention established by war movies, Westerns, crime and police dramas. Bullet wounds were represented by small red dots at the point of entry. There was no acute visual or verbal indication of pain from the wounded. The camera panned quickly from physically intact corpses back to the living.

Only in the famous footage of General Loan blowing the brains out of a Vietcong prisoner in February 1968 was this convention broken, and even then, the West Coast "feed" of the evening news edited out the gushing arc of blood from the Vietcong soldier's head.

PBS has left the blood and mutilation intact. The series does not look like a Hollywood war movie. During the first segment on the colonial era, we see a French postcard showing severed Vietnamese heads. In another segment dealing with the massive famine in the northern part of Vietnam during 1945, we see pictures of emaciated, starving people—at one point a street filled with people who died of starvation during the night. Later on napalm victims are shown. There are many film clips of people lying in large pools of blood, and of bloody corpses, including children, being hauled away in carts.

Besides the famous assassination of the Vietcong prisoner, there are even two "live" on-camera killings in the series, but both occur very, very quickly and have no narrative introductions or commentaries. These killings are not visually self-evident; a casual viewer will miss them. Such scenes may seem sensationalistic or perverse, but think for a moment of the political effects resulting from decades of bloodless war movies and years of "objective" news films showing Vietnam as a war in which no one really died or became handicapped for life. There is a vast difference between Walter Cronkite presenting the week's body count like a ballgame score and showing a body count as a series of photos of people who really look dead or wounded.

The PBS series also involves a handful of engrossing interviews with front line soldiers, "grunts" as they called themselves in Vietnam. From their testimony it seems that war became a downward spiral of terror and the self-recognition of evil. For instance, one former soldier points to the vast erotic component of the Vietnam war: "[Combat was] the most intense continual excitement I've ever known in my life. I'm not sure how to describe the energy you would feel, the excitement you would feel, however you felt about it in terms of being scared.... The excitement was there for everybody. You couldn't go through combat detached. The idea of someone shooting at you,

trying to kill you.... [Pulling the trigger] sends a real charge through you."

The soldier in question is not trying to glamorize the war; he is trying to tell the American people something important about war, something that gets omitted in the conventional histories and analyses of Vietnam. When LBJ turned the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam into a dirty joke—"I didn't just screw Ho Chi Minh, I cut his pecker off"—he really wasn't joking. Nor was McGeorge Bundy kidding when he wrote in regard to his proposed bombing program of the North, "We hold the whip hand on reprisals."

Another GI tells about his thoughts when he got shot and thought he was going to die. His wounded buddy had been calling out for him in the night and although he stayed under cover for a few minutes, fidelity to his comrade won out. When he reached his buddy he himself was shot in the back; blood came out of his mouth like a "faucet." As he lay there dying he began to reflect: "I started thinking for the first time. What the hell is Communism? I couldn't define it and I'm lying here and I'm going to die for killing a bunch of people because they happen to be Communists."

A third soldier recalls that after a few months of search and destroy missions he "knew it was crazy," but the recognition of the insanity "pointed in directions that were terrifying." The man remembered all of his educational indoctrination over the years, only he began to see himself as a British "red coat" rather than an American freedom fighter: "Somehow I had become everything I had learned was evil."

This soldier regrets being there and regrets killing anyone, but only one killing keeps coming back in his nightmares: "The woman in the rice fields that I shot one day because she was running, for no other reason, because she was running away from the Americans who were going to kill her. And I killed her. Fifty-five, 60 years old, unarmed. And I didn't think twice about it."

But these interviews with the American grunts only occupy a couple of minutes, the interviews with the Vietnamese revolutionaries maybe half an hour out of a 13-hour series. But to counter this testimony—in the name of balanced, "objective" journalism—the series turns into a platform for every lie ever told by administration officials in the Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford governments.

Interviews with U.S. officials occupy the overwhelming majority of air time. In deciding upon ground-rules for the series, the producers chose to have both the interviewers and the questions asked be "off-camera," and for no interview subject to be directly challenged concerning the veracity of his or her testimony. Although this decision allowed the Vietnamese and American grunts to speak at some length for the first time, it also meant that the official "discourse on war" could be reiterated hour after hour.

Omissions and deceptions.

The end result of all this is that Vietnam is portrayed as a war of good men with honorable intentions fighting another set of good men with honorable intentions. Thirty years of warfare appear as a mythic tragedy dictated by the gods, an independent war-for-itself against which our government merely responded step by step.

Continued on page 23

LETTERS

In These Times is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

ALTERNATIVE RED SCARE

CONSIDER AN ALTERNATIVE CHRONOLOGY:

1945-46: Popular fear of Soviet expansion leads to red-baiting campaigns of Nixon, McCarthy, etc.

1947-48: Increasing pressure leads Truman to institute loyalty oaths, "containment," Marshall Plan.

1949: Communist victory in China leads to absurd question: "Who lost China?"

1951: McCarthy waves "lists of reds in State Department." Holds Eisenhower, rest of country in thrall for three years.

1954: McCarthy falls; Nixon, John Foster Dulles, J. Edgar Hoover do not.

1960: Nixon vs. Kennedy. Kennedy must prove he's "tough on Communism," invents missile gap.

1961: Kennedy advisors fear Republican cry of "Who lost Vietnam?" 20,000 troops sent.

1965: Johnson, with same fear, escalates to 550,000.

1968: Nixon returns. Kissinger sees world as battleground of democracy vs. Communism. War in Vietnam continues five more years.

1980: Reagan wins big, dredges up "soft on reds" mythology. Calls reds "focus of evil in modern world," hires full crew of wild-eyed rightists, achieves record military budgets. Declares Vietnam an "honorable" war, mistake was insufficient U.S. will.

According to Judis, "The red scare destroyed itself in the '50s." Did it?

—Dave Tenenbaum
Madison, Wisc.

DEFENDING PUBLIC SCHOOLS

BRUCE POSTER ("LETTERS," *ITT*, AUG. 24) defends the voucher system as the way forward for universal schooling through the private sector.

Poster refers to the development of the individual and the positive innovation of competition between private

schools. Rather than reinforcing the attributes integral to capitalist ideology, our emphasis as leftists should be to fight for reforms that will tend to strengthen our children's ability to work, play and organize collectively.

True, public schools reflect the hierarchical and authoritarian values of our corporate state. But they also embody the hopes and aspirations of the working class and historically have been a contested arena of struggle.

It is naive to believe that a private school system would relieve rather than exacerbate racial, sexual and class tensions. Does Poster believe that there would be adequate education in city ghettos or other depressed areas? In fact, vouchers would only supplement endowments in wealthier areas. Let's not revert to utopian schemes that flourished in the '60s, bleeding the public schools of vital and thoughtful energies.

We are in a new period of educational reform. We need to analyze and understand the forces involved, and develop a program that can take advantage of the new interest and energy that now exists around public schooling. Anyone who has been active in school reform movements over the past 20 years knows that organizing and fighting are not futile. To the extent that communities are mobilized and parents and teachers are able to work together, the potential for making a difference in the kind of "education" our children receive is enormous.

—Shella Gold Jordan
Oakland, Calif.

MOBILIZATION FOR SURVIVAL

JOHN JUDIS' ARTICLE ON THE MOVEMENT to stop U.S. intervention in Central America (*ITT*, Aug. 10) lacked an understanding of the dynamics of that movement and had some major political problems.

His characterization of disarmament groups, church organizations, the labor movement, solidarity groups and lobby

groups tended to polarize every concern when, in fact, every one of the constituencies mentioned has been struggling—and succeeding—to find common ground. The upcoming demonstration on November 12 in Washington, D.C., to stop U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean is by far the broadest coalition yet to come together around these issues. It involves every one of the groups mentioned. The diversity of views and approaches is our strength as well as a challenge.

Judis' characterization of Mobilization for Survival as an organization that has focused on nuclear weapons is inaccurate. Since its inception in 1977, Mobilization for Survival has been linking issues as indicated in our four goals: zero nuclear weapons, ban nuclear power, reverse the arms race, meet human needs. We work against military intervention around the world and focus attention on the connections between nuclear weapons, military intervention and the economy. We have been working to stop U.S. intervention in Central America for a long while.

Judis' approach had some serious political errors. Judis asserts that the main problem with the anti-intervention movement is that the Democrats are not leading it. Need we remind him that it was the Democratic Party that got us into the Vietnam war, the Korean war and many of the Central and South American coups?

Of course, it is essential that we convince the Democrats to oppose intervention. But as Judis points out, the Democrats have consistently buckled under to the Reagan administration's accusations that they will be responsible for "losing El Salvador." While criticizing covert action, they have allowed themselves to be red-baited by the Reagan administration and defend themselves by decrying Nicaragua as a Marxist totalitarian state.

Judis reinforced this slander campaign against Nicaragua with his own comments. Nicaragua has local and state elections, is developing a process for political parties, and has national elections planned for 1985 (despite a war on two fronts). Most don't know that the Nicaraguans are sending research teams to Europe and the U.S. (despite our government's attempt to overthrow them) to study ways to run a national election.

This is not to say that Nicaragua does not make mistakes or have problems. But it is critical to examine carefully the information that we are told about Nicaragua.

I was also appalled to read Judis' remark that we should support a draft instead of an army filled by the unemployed because that would help stimulate student activism. The solution to the poverty draft is not a draft. It is civilian employment, an economy based on people's needs, not military production, and an end to American intervention overseas.

—Jackie Gelb
Staff, Mobilization for Survival
New York

John B. Judis replies: I am grateful to Jackie Gelb for pointing out my "serious political errors." Perhaps I can make the following comments in my defense:

(1) My understanding of the Mobilization for Survival, derived from visits of its representatives to *In These Times* over the years, was that it was far more preoccupied with nuclear war than with Central America.

(2) Democrats got the U.S. into the Vietnam war, but the combination of grassroots protest and congressional opposition finally forced Nixon to withdraw. Presently, with the Reagan administration's Central American policy, we have some of the former, but little of the latter, which was a point of my article.

(3) Must one's opposition to American intervention in Nicaragua (or Cuba or Iran or Libya) be based on the conviction that the government targeted for overthrow is committed to "participatory democracy"?

(4) The draft is a tricky question, which I tried to sidestep in my article. There are three things involved: should the U.S. have a military at all? What should it do? And who should be in it?

If one believes, as Gelb seems to, that there should not be a military at all, then the question of the draft is simple. But if one believes that, pending negotiated disarmament between the NATO and Warsaw Pact forces, there will be a military, then one cannot avoid the further question of who is going to fill its ranks.

I would prefer that the U.S. follow the example of the Scandinavian countries and stock its army through universal conscription, whether through a lottery or through limited service for everyone. As a matter of principle, I think the defense of the nation should be everyone's responsibility rather than the responsibility of those who can't find safer and more remunerative occupations. And I also think that as a practical, political matter, the existence of a draft forces every parent and child to view with utmost seriousness the use of our armed forces for purposes other than national defense.

I understand that current left opposition to the draft is based on opposition to the purposes for which a draft might be used. I am sympathetic to this argument, but I think it better to protest those policies directly and to refuse service when the draft becomes an actual, not merely potential, instrument of overseas intervention.

ISRAELI REALITY

I DIDN'T READ NANCY KRIEGER'S LETTER, but Morris Alexander's response (*ITT*, Sept. 14) sure deserves comment. His psychoanalysis of "Jews who oppose the existence of the state of Israel" and his claim that "all real Jews are Zionists" seem demagogic. After assailing Krieger for "claiming to represent the point of view" of a certain segment of the American Jewish community, he claims to represent the views of "real Jews." Isn't something awry here?

Because the official doctrine of the World Zionist Organization contains no specific statements of imperialist support for the establishment of the state of Israel or chauvinistic descriptions of the residents of Palestine, are we to believe these things haven't existed?

How were the Arab people living in Palestine in the first half of this century supposed to view the arrival of thousands of European Jewish settlers intent on setting up an exclusive and expansionist Jewish democratic community in their midst? As liberators? Or saviors?

This occurred under the auspices of the League of Nations' mandatory power in Palestine, Great Britain, whose leaders realized only after the war that they couldn't live up to their contradictory promises to the Jews and the Arabs. Britain, after all, had its own imperial interests to look after.

Use of such abstract terms as "the existence of the state of Israel" and "democratic Israel" seems to be outdated. Is this the "democratic Israel" that extends automatic citizenship to Jews around the world while reserving the right to harass at the border or deny entrance to anyone it chooses? Or is it the one that cancels local West Bank elections, removes elected politicians, commits daily land evictions, bans books or practices what can only be called military intimidation within its borders?

I, too, believe fervently in democracy; but we must be realistic in our assessment of democratic socialism as an ideal far from being realized anywhere in the world.

—Dennis Schaffer
Seattle

ROSENBERG FILE

We have received some half-dozen letters in response to James Weinstein's review of Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton's *The Rosenberg File*. We have not published any this week because we plan to run a special Dialog on the subject next week.

Subscribe to
IN THESE TIMES



"I believe that it is imperative that working people get the other side of the story. In These Times is an excellent source of information from an anti-capitalist point of view."

Bernard Sanders,
Mayor, Burlington,
Vermont

Yes, I want *In These Times*.

Send me:

- ☐ One year for \$29.50
- ☐ One year Student/Retired rate for \$17.00
- ☐ Six months for \$15.95
- ☐ One year Institutional rate for \$40.00
- ☐ Payment enclosed
- ☐ Bill me later

Name _____

Address _____

City/State _____

For Faster Service: Use our toll-free number:
800-247-2160; Iowa residents: 800-362-2860.

IN THESE TIMES
1300 W. Belmont
Chicago, IL 60657

Your Guarantee: If you decide to cancel your subscription at any time, you will receive a prompt refund on all unmailed issues, with no questions asked.

STV1



These young political activists, with Mayor Gus Newport of Berkeley, Calif., at Anti-Reagan May Day Celebration at Provo Park, typify the new black politics.

PERSPECTIVES

New kind of black electoral politics

By James Jennings

IN SEVERAL MAJOR AMERICAN cities a new kind of electoral politics, substantially different than that of just a few years ago, is unfolding in black communities. The elections of Eddie James Carthan in Tchula, Miss., Barbara Mouton in East Palo Alto, Calif., Harold Washington in Chicago and Gus Newport in Berkeley, Calif., illustrate a politics quite unlike the usual in post World War II American cities. The mayoral candidacies of Mel King in Boston and William Murphy in Baltimore, as well as the budding organizations of black political independents like elected officials Al Vann and Roger Green in Brooklyn, N.Y., are additional examples. On a national level the voter registration efforts of Rev. Jesse Jackson also represents this emergence of a new kind of black politics.

These developments signal a critical stage in the struggle against racism and class exploitation in the U.S. It suggests that the electoral arena—especially at the local level—will be ever more crucial in challenging groups holding and managing wealth in this country. Black-led left campaigns are introducing a new force upon American politics, one that will have significant impact on political coalitions at the local level and on black-Latino relationships. It will also encourage public debates and discussions of issues usually not raised in local electoral campaigns.

In various ways, for instance, the Mel King candidacy in Boston has had a "leftward" impact on that city's mayoral race. King's campaign has forced all the mayoral candidates to take a position on "linkage," i.e., holding real estate interests investing in downtown de-

velopment responsible for the maintenance of neighborhood housing. Although losing in the 1979 preliminary mayoral election King's candidacy forced one of the two final mayoral contenders in that year's general election to move to the left on condominium conversion and rent control. This year, King's insistence on governmental access for all people forced the League of Women Voters and major TV stations in Boston to invite the mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to a series of planned public debates. Without King's insistence and boycott of the first TV debate, the SWP candidate would not have been included in the subsequent TV debates.

Many of the theoretical questions now posed by the emergence of left electoral activity in the black community were raised earlier in periods of protest. Malcolm X, for example, discussed electoral activity as a tool for black liberation in his "Ballot or Bullet" speech in 1964. In fact, within the last 20 years there have been sporadic electoral efforts suggesting the movement that is emerging today. But what is being described as "progressive" politics can be clearly differentiated from the "traditional" politics that has dominated the black community, and the American city, since WWII.

This new political surge is being led and supported by blacks who have heretofore rejected electoral activity as a tool for substantive change in the black community. Many who are now participating in elections rejected this path just a few years ago when electoral politics was dominated by individuals and groups that sought accommodation to the power status-quo. But the most that the status-quo can offer is periodic patronage for a few in the black community. Traditional politics cannot respond effectively to the social and economic needs of black youth, the poor or the working-class sec-

tors of American society. Left electoral activity is offering a welcome mat to blacks who find very little use for the traditional politics that keeps intact the existing distribution of wealth and power.

Jesse Jackson's proposed run for the presidency is important, and should be encouraged, because it provides a forum for millions of blacks and Latinos who have rejected political participation within a framework supportive of the wealth and power status-quo. For many in the black community, the question of a Democrat versus a Republican in the White House is largely irrelevant. Jackson represents a political catalyst, encouraging blacks alienated from the usual substance and style of local American politics. The new participants, which Jackson is helping to bring into the electoral arena, have great potential—due to their position in American society—to recognize as their fundamental interest the development of an independent politics that challenges the basis and structure of wealth.

Unlike traditional black politics, new electoral activity in the black community is not necessarily focusing on access or patronage. It is a politics that recognizes the structure and organization of wealth as critical in determining the quality of life in black America. Black electoral efforts under the traditional framework

In the '50s the lunch counter was the battlefield. In the '60s it was the streets. In the '80s it is elections.

basically seek access into the structures of wealth and power; these attempts, successful in some cases, allowed black officials to call upon white power brokers for favors or concessions to the black community. Thus some blacks were elected to office because they appealed to voters not as political leaders but as managers of patronage or as developers of cooperative partnerships with the corporate sector.

This traditional black politics is reflected in the campaign and administrations of Wilson Goode in Philadelphia, Thomas Bradley in Los Angeles or Coleman Young in Detroit. These black leaders present themselves, not as challengers to

the power status-quo, but as effective managers of the status quo. Although they may capitalize on nationalist sentiment in the black community they do not pursue public policies that might be inimical to the interests of powerful white groups and organizations. Left electoral activity seeks to assault the City Halls of America, not for the relatively few jobs that might be available, but rather to implement public policies that would have meaningful impacts of black unemployment, crime and social alienation.

Left black politics, is a relatively new phenomenon groping for clarity on many theoretical questions. But as this movement grows it will test the flexibility of American political institutions and processes. It will also test the American left in general. In a few instances, white left groups have failed the test. For example, despite the appeal of Barry Commoner, the Citizens Party refused to endorse Jackson's proposed candidacy. It did not do so because such an endorsement was seen as delaying the emergence of this party as an alternative to the major parties. This position reflects greater concern for organizational interests than for the development of a popular left politics.

This year in Boston, in another unfortunate example of the unreliability and confusion of some white groups on the left, a few unions and a white-led tenants group did not endorse Mel King's mayoral candidacy. Yet Mel King is clearly the most progressive of all the mayoral candidates, and has the most consistent, positive record on labor and tenant issues. This was implicitly recognized by Local 26 and the Massachusetts Tenants Organization when some of their leaders privately explained their negative decision by rationalizing that King could not win in Boston, and therefore an endorsement of his candidacy would be wasted. This in itself is a subtle racist position.

The myth that King cannot win is just that; a thorough analysis of Boston's electoral patterns and characteristics shows that he can win. Yet some left groups have not done their homework on this issue. This rationalization led these groups to endorse Ray Flynn, a city councilman from South Boston with a strong anti-busing and anti-public education legislative history. Flynn, as recently as 1982, endorsed Governor Edward King, known throughout the country as "Reagan's favorite Democratic governor, for re-election in Massachusetts. The black community in Boston voted against Gov. King by more than nine to one. Furthermore, Flynn has not been involved with any significant attempts to change the reputation or image of his neighborhood, South Boston, as one where "blacks better stay away from," as one resident stated. The endorsement of Flynn over King was criticized severely in the black community, leading one activist to claim that some white groups on the left are more white than progressive.

The new face of black politics in urban America is not focusing merely on winning elections. Electoral activity under a "progressive" framework is not an end in itself; rather, it is a means, a tool by which to mobilize the black community against the power status-quo. It is not an attempt to share opportunities for exploitation; it seeks to develop public policy alternatives that will enhance the quality of urban life for all people. Under a left framework electoral activity is approached as an educational process. It is becoming an important tool by which to raise the political and social consciousness of blacks, the poor and working class in the cities of the U.S. This is a new stage in the struggle against racism and economic exploitation. It is an extension of earlier periods of black protest. If the lunchroom counter was a major battlefield for equality in the '50s, and the streets of the ghetto were a major battlefield in the '60s, then the battlefield in the '80s for black and working-class people will be the electoral arenas of American cities.

James Jennings is dean of the College of Public and Community Service, University of Massachusetts, Boston.

BEST BUYS

RECORDS

The Weavers TOGETHER AGAIN*

If you missed the historic 1980 reunion of the Weavers at Carnegie Hall, experience it now on the album that captures the music, the excitement and the moment!

Not available in stores.

Holly Near JOURNEYS

This retrospective album captures the spirit of a decade, with 12 favorites from Holly's first six albums—music that celebrates life, love and visions of a better world. A great sampler for those who are new to Holly's music...and fuel for the long distance traveller.

Holly Near & Ronnie Gilbert LIFELINE

Capture the warmth and excitement of 1983's historic collaboration in this new concert album.

Sweet Honey in the Rock GOOD NEWS

Endless possibilities of a capella gospel singing are unfolded in this live performance. The sisters fill this aural broadside (and all hearts) with political and spiritual passion. A moving voice for the voiceless in this society.

Grupo Mancotal UN SON PARA MI PUEBLO

Taking off from salsa, calypso and samba rhythms, Nicaragua's foremost musical group, Grupo Mancotal, creates one of the tightest, most exciting sounds from Central America. Available for the first time in the U.S.

Yolocamba Ita REVOLUTIONARY SONGS OF EL SALVADOR

These five young musicians from El Salvador are representatives of the Democratic Revolutionary Front. These recordings tell us about their sacrifices as well as their joys and hopes for a new homeland in their country. Spanish-English descriptive notes are included.

ALL RECORDS \$8.98 POSTPAID
EXCEPT (*) \$9.98

THE WEAVERS
TOGETHER AGAIN



HAROLD WASHINGTON A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY

Florence Hamlish Levinsohn

BOOKS

HAROLD WASHINGTON

Florence H. Levinsohn
\$9.95

No mayoral campaign in recent memory has caused the furor of Harold Washington's spectacular Chicago victory. This timely book by a former *In These Times* editor puts him in focus.

SYLVIA ON SUNDAY HI, THIS IS SYLVIA

Nicole Hollander
St. Martin's Press
\$5.98 each

In this series of the syndicated "Sylvia" comic strip, the flamboyant feminist keeps up the steady stream of razor-sharp wisecracks aimed at the absurdities and difficulties of surviving in a sexist, consumer culture. TV, sexism and the New Right all suffer deflation from her darts.

THE HOMOSEXUALIZATION OF AMERICA

Dennis Altman
\$10.95

Arguing persuasively that homosexuality is more than just a matter of one's sexual preference, noted writer Dennis Altman, author of the gay classic *Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation*, shows how over the past decade homosexuality has begun to affect the very fabric of American life. "One of the most important books about the politics of sexuality and gender that I have read."
—Barbara Ehrenreich

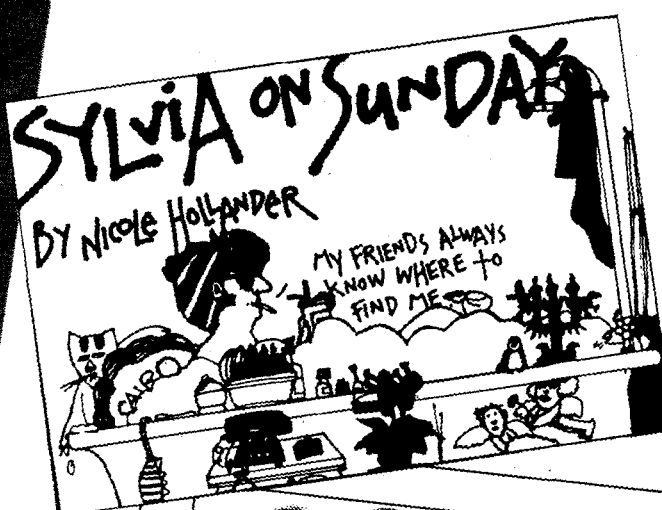
1984 CALENDAR

Point Blank Press
10.95

1984 is here. This provocative calendar details with over 1,000 insertions aspects of our society that smack of Orwell's *1984*. Arguing persuasively that our civil liberties are steadily eroding, this calendar has already won international recognition. Featuring an original essay by Nat Hentoff, internationally known writer on civil liberties, this calendar is by far the political calendar for next year.

Hi, this is Sylvia.

I can't come to the phone right now,
so when you hear the beep,
please hang up.



1984

ORDER INFORMATION

| QUANTITY | ITEM | UNIT PRICE | TOTAL |
|----------|------|------------|-------|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

Send check or charge: ☐ Visa ☐ Master Charge

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____ Signature _____

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Mail to: Dept. A, IN THESE TIMES, 1300 West Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657

TOTAL ENCLOSED

All orders postpaid.
Canadians add 10%.

DIALOG

Boston left splits on election

In our September 7 issue, we published an article by Peter Dreier on the October 11 Boston Mayoral contest that favored support of Ray Flynn. In our September 21 issue, we published a response by Bob Keough in support of the candidacy of Mel King. Since then, we have received several letters critical of Dreier's Dialog, two of which we are publishing here along with Dreier's response.

Desertion

Peter Dreier (*ITT*, Sept. 7) and the other leftists who support Ray Flynn in the Boston mayoral race have joined a populist alliance composed primarily of moderate and conservative whites that compromises on a number of social issues, most importantly racism. These leftists have not forged a left pole within his campaign that supports Flynn's progressive economic positions and criticizes his social views. Rather, Dreier defends Flynn's record on busing, remains silent about his continued opposition to busing and, in fact, promotes Flynn as a "racial healer." This pitch confirms Dreier's absorption into the political mainstream of Flynn's campaign.

In deserting Mel King, who many of these leftists supported in 1979, they have weakened a solidly progressive candidacy that is built upon a genuinely progressive multi-racial coalition. King's mere presence in the race has pushed all of the other candidates to the left. And King now appears to be headed for the final elections, which will certainly magnify the effect of this coalition on city politics.

More is at stake in Boston than who is elected mayor. In particular, what kinds of political alliances will emerge from

this campaign? The fight over the new student assignment plan and ultimately over who the Boston public schools serve has already surfaced. Will Dreier push Flynn to work with King and other progressives in the struggle for racial equality in the schools or will he continue to defend Flynn? Flynn is still very clear about where he stands on this matter.

—Seth Racusen
Jen Silverman
Boston

Central issue

Peter Dreier's article on the Boston mayoral contest and the choice facing the left (*ITT*, Sept. 7) is a plug for Ray Flynn, a supposed populist with Irish working-class roots. The article plays down both the problems with Flynn's politics and the implications of supporting him over Mel King, the only Black candidate and, as Dreier notes, a socialist.

Dreier says little about Flynn's anti-abortion stand and joins other left supporters of Flynn in showing how unimportant they consider this central women's and human issue. Mel King supports abortion and has a much better record than Flynn on women's rights generally.

Dreier, again like some others in the

Boston left, opts for Flynn because he is "electable," the idea being that, in a racist city like Boston, a black candidate is not. This evades many things. On its face, "electability" is a self-fulfilling prophecy. It is also potentially racist prophecy, and if leftists accept it, they surely need to examine the claim more closely than Dreier does, particularly since some important segments of Flynn's constituency are racist. Recent polls and registration trends, moreover, suggest that the claim may simply be false; Mel King could come in ahead of Flynn in the Democratic primary.

Finally, Dreier does not seriously compare Flynn and King on questions of gay rights and homophobia. Here the reason is simple: Flynn's record is poor; King's is good.

Dreier is right, though, that the mayoral contest has raised divisions in the Boston left. Many of us support Mel King, who has for years worked against racism, sexism and bigotry generally, and has worked for peace, economic justice and racial harmony. On the last point, so crucial to Boston, we believe it vital for us as white leftists to support and work for good black candidates as a step toward the sort of new community we seek. The notion that leftists should not raise the issue of racism among white working-class people who may reject black neighbors, let alone black candidates, and should not raise the issue of abortion among Catholics who are progressive on other issues, seems to us to subvert the very meaning of leftism today.

—Paul Breines
Winl Breines
Brookline, Mass.

Differences not so great

By Peter Dreier

FAMILY FEUDS ARE ALWAYS the most difficult. Such is the case with the split within Boston's left community between Ray Flynn and Mel King. To the outside, these two candidates seem alike. But to each campaign, the seem poles apart. People always seem to be most bitter and angry toward the people closest to them.

It is thus important to recognize that, despite their stylistic and rhetorical differences—King uses words like "oppression" and "politics of inclusion"; Flynn talks about "economic justice" and "the bankers and developers who run this city"—the two candidates have more in common than either camp wants to admit. Both grew up poor, made it through college as athletes, later earned master's degrees in education, worked on the streets with troubled kids, spent their political careers as mavericks (often alienating segments of their own communities) and as fighters-for the underdog.

The October 11 preliminary election will narrow down the race for Boston's next mayor to two candidates. David Finnegan—sponsored by the downtown business community, a former tobacco industry lobbyist, the only candidate who initially opposed "linkage" and the only candidate who denies that Boston faces serious fiscal problems—is most likely to be one of the two finalists. Both Ray Flynn and Mel King have a shot at being Finnegan's opponent. No matter who wins, the left should rally behind Flynn or King to defeat Finnegan.

Recognizing the need to defeat Finnegan at all costs, Flynn's supporters have

avoided criticizing King and his campaign. It will not help progressive unity for King's supporters to continuously attack Flynn, particularly when they are ill-informed about Flynn's views, his campaign and his goals for the city.

Ray Flynn has, in fact, built a strong coalition of grassroots groups and activists in every neighborhood of the city. King's supporters should ask themselves why Ray Flynn has received the support of Frank Manning (the state's leading senior citizens spokesperson, a former CIO organizer and a long-time progressive); the Boston Tenants Campaign Organization; the Hotel and Restaurant Workers union (as well as most other unions and the city's AFL-CIO); Carmen Pola, vice-president of the Hispanic PAC; Rev. R.D. Kelly, minister of Boston's largest black congregation; Carolyn Lucas, Margaret Morrison and many other leaders of Massachusetts Fair Share; poor people's lobbyist Judy Meredith; Nancy Snyder, staff director of 9to5; Sister Suzanne Murphy, a leader of Jobs with Peace; Doreen Levasseur, head of SEIU 925 and of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Georgette Watson, the leader of neighborhood crime prevention programs in the black community; and Ann Donner of the Child Care Resource Center. And this is just a sampling of Flynn's backers.

Some criticize Flynn because he also has strong support among moderate and conservative working-class whites. But for too long, the independent left has been isolated, talking only to itself. The fact that there are both progressives and conservatives within the Flynn campaign is a strength, not a weakness.

Ray Flynn's greatest strength is his ability to grow, personally and politically.

Since 1978, when first elected at-large to the City Council, Flynn has grown and changed some of his views—not out of political opportunism, but out of his consistent and deep sense of social justice. Speaking of prejudice, some leftists just can't seem to believe that anyone from South Boston isn't a racist and sexist. Leftists who disregard this kind of growth and the kind of role model it establishes with working-class communities suffer from intolerance at best, self-righteousness at worst.

Racism? Several years ago, when the Ku Klux Klan tried to take advantage of the racial polarization by opening a storefront in South Boston, Flynn organized a demonstration against them. Flynn was the only white politician to attend the funeral of Levi Hart, a 14-year-old black killed by a Boston policeman in a controversial incident last year. More recently, following the police killing of another black teenager, Elijah Pate, Flynn was the only white mayoral candidate to forcefully criticize the police and to call for the hiring of more minority police and more training in racial sensitivity. Flynn also intervened to stop a gang of white teenagers who were assaulting a black couple on the Boston Common in 1979. He voted for a city Human Rights Commission and a fair housing ordinance and supporter the charter change giving Boston's minority neighborhoods greater political clout through district elections. As a state representative, he fought against political gerrymandering that could have diluted the political power of minorities and backed the creation of a black senatorial district in Roxbury. Flynn is the city's strongest supporter of public housing, championing greater tenant power and more city resources for the overwhelmingly minority residents of these low-income developments. He has also consistently advocated the integration of public housing, as well as fought

against racial discrimination among private landlords and realtors.

Flynn, in other words, has time and again put himself on the line against racial injustice—often at great political risk. (His car was fire-bombed and his family received death threats over the phone.)

He is well aware that racism pervades Boston's institutions and its culture. His approach to fighting racism is to find issues that unite poor and working-class people of all races in order to challenge the city's predominantly white power structure.

There is significant disagreement—within both the white and black communities in Boston—over court-ordered busing and specified assignment plans. Ray's opposition is based on the grounds that it has pitted poor and working-class whites against poor and working-class blacks, providing both with inferior educations. It is an issue of class, not race. Many blacks agree.

Sexism? Flynn has been an active supporter of women's rights. His crime proposals include the most comprehensive program to combat rape and domestic violence against women—surely a central issue in the women's movement. Flynn was the only City Councilor to testify in favor of 9to5's bill to protect women workers against the health hazards of video display terminals (VDTs) and he introduced the city version of that bill in the City Council. He is committed to hiring women at all levels of city government, including top decision-making posts. And he's pledged equal pay, benefits and comparable work for women, adequate day care, flex-time and job-sharing.

Not all of us agree with Flynn on every issue. He is personally opposed to abortion. But in his six years on the City Council, he has neither initiated nor supported measures to restrict abortions. Flynn has pledged that Boston's Department of Health and Hospitals will continue to provide the current full range of health services, including abortion services. This year, in fact, Flynn was the only City Councilor to vote against proposed cuts in the city's health budget.

Flynn's support from the Hotel Workers Union, a predominantly female and Third World union under new militant leadership, offers a glimpse into his style.

"The first time I met Flynn, we were on opposite sides," recalled Dom Bozzotto, the union's new president. "He was opposed to busing. I was for it. No one disliked Ray more than I did. But you can't vote on someone's past. I've seen him grow. He's a different Ray Flynn."

Bozzotto's most recent encounter with Flynn took place last winter during his union's bitter negotiations with the city's hotels. The last-minute bargaining sessions went round the clock, each side hoping to avoid a strike.

"At 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning, I came outside the bargaining room and saw three or four hundred members with all this incredible energy and enthusiasm. Ray was going around from group to group, encouraging people, telling them to hang in there, to stand up for their rights."

Although Mel King, too, had lent his support to the union, the hotel workers' endorsed Flynn.

Yes, progressives in Flynn's campaign worry about David Finnegan and think that Flynn has the best chance, by far, to defeat Finnegan in the final election in November. But "electability" is only one reason for our choice to back Flynn.

We've watched him in action, in neighborhoods throughout the city. His support among feminists, unionists, tenant activists, community organizers, legal services lawyers, environmentalists and democratic socialists is based as much on principle as on pragmatism.

If King beats Flynn and faces Finnegan in the final, we'll work actively in his behalf. But our first choice for change is Flynn.

Peter Dreier, author of Who Rules Boston?, was a founder of the Massachusetts Tenants Organization and is a member of the National Executive Committee of Democratic Socialists of America.



Nuke obit is premature

Nuclear, Inc.
By Mark Hertsgaard
Pantheon Books

By Bob Sanders

Nuclear power is not on its death bed.

True, even before the accident at Three Mile Island (TMI), things looked bleak for the nuclear industry. Sluggish economic growth, combined with a slackening demand for electricity and the skyrocketing cost of the nuclear reactors themselves resulted in a drastic decline in reactor orders and the first of what would be many cancellations.

Now, five years after TMI, not a single new reactor has been ordered. Massive opposition has led to an increase in government regulation, shifting much of the social cost of nuclear power back onto the industry and leading to staggering economic losses. All the antinuclear movement needs to do, it seems, is to wait for this mammoth mistake of an industry to simply sink in the quagmire of the comparative market, doomed by its sheer size.

But, according to Hertsgaard's extraordinary book, such optimistic obituaries are premature—indeed, greatly exaggerated. The nuclear industry has the wherewithal and the will to hang

in there—and they have just begun to fight.

After interviewing 57 members of the "Atomic Brotherhood," those executive and government officials who are responsible for and who strongly believe in the "nuclear imperative," Hertsgaard offers a point of view rarely seen by nuclear opponents—that of "the other side." And the first thing he discovered was that these men are in it for the long haul.

"I think we could be profitable without any new [reactor] orders, forever," said Gordon Hurlbert, president of Westinghouse's Power System Division.

For one thing, despite the industry's huge size (they expect \$800 billion worth of fuel and equipment to be sold by the year 2000, making it one of the largest segments of the world economy) it is mainly a "sideline business" for corporate giants such as GE, whose \$600 million worth of yearly nuclear sales is but a tiny fraction of \$27 billion in total sales in 1981. Even if GE continues to lose \$30 million a year, they have enough cash to subsidize losses for 80 years.

Obviously, corporations are not in business to lose money. The hope is that nuclear power will turn a profit. But with most of the initial investment already

made, all that is needed is three or perhaps four reactor orders a year—if not in the U.S., then on the international market. In the meantime, the industry can live off the extremely profitable business of fuel replacement and repairs of existing reactors, not to mention fulfilling a backlog of orders from the early '70s.

All nuclear industry chiefs have to do is wait until the pendulum swings back their way, and it appears they won't have long to wait because they have friends in high places, particularly the White House.

Nuclear welfare state.

In tracing the growth of the nuclear power industry, Hertsgaard points to the long-standing alliance of government and industry similar in many respects to state capitalism. The government encouraged hesitant investors by bearing many of the initial risks, subsidizing research and promoting nuclear power with its Atoms for Peace program. After the Soviets exploded their bomb, the U.S. felt it was imperative to keep a commanding lead in nuclear technology on the world scale. But how to export this technology and control it without expanding the nuclear weapons club is one of the many contradictions in the love-hate rela-

tionship between national security needs of the state and the goals of private enterprise over nuclear power. The weapons connection, so important to the industry's inception and survival, also haunts corporate leaders in terms of public opposition to nuclear power.

The government has been most helpful to the industry in absorbing the social cost of nuclear power through insurance (the Price-Anderson Act underwrites the cost of a major accident), lax safety regulations and taking some responsibility for the disposal of wastes.

The Three Mile Island accident and increased antinuclear protests made the government less willing to pick up the tabs—for a while. But with the election of former GE spokesman Ronald Reagan, the nuclear industry has had a field day.

Aside from his appointment of three ex-Bechtel, Inc. (a major nuclear contractor) executives to three cabinet posts connected with nuclear power (Departments of State, Defense and Energy), Reagan has provided "virtually everything the industry has been demanding: a commitment to cut the construction time and hence the cost of nuclear plants in half, the speedy announce-

increase the risk of another reactor accident and make it more likely another nation will gain and perhaps use the bomb. Resistance to Reagan has also played a big role in merging the environmental and anti-war movements, especially with his hints that reactor wastes might be used to build weapons.

In the course of making these points, *Nuclear Inc.* takes on a surprising tone. Hertsgaard comes to identify so much with the corporation officers he interviews that he begins searching for ways for the industry to survive. It is not clear which side he is on: reform in the nuclear industry for its own sake, or for the industry's continued existence.

"If there is another accident as bad as TMI, nuclear power is finished," he warns.

Government restraint is in the industry's own enlightened self-interest, he adds. "For just as 50 years ago capitalism had to be made less harsh to avoid being overthrown, so nuclear power today must be made much safer if it is to avoid being shut down permanently."

But are safety and profitability compatible? Despite Hertsgaard's conclusion, everything in the text seems to indicate that they are not, leaving nuclear

The industry can survive on the profitable business of fuel

ment of a solution to the problem of nuclear waste, the legalization and encouragement of commercial reprocessing of used nuclear fuel, the acceleration of fast breeder reactor research and the development and active promotion of nuclear exports."

However, the nuclear industry's best friend may be its own worst enemy. Reagan's policies

power doomed, no matter what path it takes.

But because of the enormous resources involved, the nuclear industry has tremendous staying power. It may hang on for decades, and certainly won't disappear soon without a struggle. ■

Bob Sanders is a science and environment book reviewer for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

MEDIA

Powers that be

The Media Monopoly
By Ben Bagdikian
Beacon Press, 282 pp., \$14.95

By Alfie Kohn

You may know that control of the media is concentrated in a few corporate hands, but did you know that only 20 newspaper companies control more than half the daily sales, while 10 corporations have more than half the radio audience nationwide? And you may know that the giant corporations that own publishing houses theoretically have the power to censor controversial books, but were you aware that McGraw Hill and Warner Books both recalled newly released titles during the 1970s because of their political content?

Ben Bagdikian's *The Media Monopoly* explores all the various ways in which we suffer from corporate control of the media. The number of news organizations (especially daily pap-

ers) declines. The quality of news drops as large chains, such as Gannett, buy up papers and cut back on substantive local news in favor of cheaper feature pieces. Potentially embarrassing books and articles are rejected or recalled and editors learn to censor themselves in anticipation of making the parent company unhappy. Finally, media operations run by huge—and ever fewer—conglomerates can create ideas and significantly shape the *Zeitgeist*. Ideas and movements can be invented, directed, magnified or ignored. For instance, if Time, Inc., (which publishes *Time*, *Life*, *Sports Illustrated*, *People* and *Money*—as well as owning Little, Brown & Co., the Book-of-the-Month Club and HBO) thinks Henry Kissinger should continue to be a leading authority on foreign affairs, a few phone calls will insure that he is holding forth everywhere we turn.

Interlocking directorates exacerbate the problem; the leading



defense contractors, banks and oil companies all have directors who sit on the boards of the New York Times Company, CBS, Gulf + Western (which owns Simon and Schuster, Paramount Pictures, etc.) and the other media interests.

The Media Monopoly is written in snappy, journalistic prose. But Bagdikian indulges in frequent hyperbole and sweeping generalizations. He repeatedly asserts, for example, that news-

paper feature articles exist just to create a "buying mood" in read-

Conglomerates can create ideas, shaping the zeitgeist

ers, an exaggerated claim that is never substantiated.

This sort of questionable analysis, combined with insufficient attention to the exceptions to his conspiracy theory and superficial summaries of social history, may do more harm than good in substantiating Bagdikian's views. While *The Media Monopoly* does supply useful information, it ultimately is a disappointment by virtue of its substitution of rhetoric for scholarship. ■

Scotch Verdict—Miss Pirie and Miss Woods v. Dame Cumming Gordon

By Lillian Faderman
Morrow Press, 315 pp.,
\$8.95 paper

By Lisa DiCaprio

If a man and a woman are in bed together, venereal congress would be presumed. And perhaps even if a man and a woman are in bed together without necessity, an unnatural intention may be inferred. But a woman being in bed with a woman cannot even give a probability to such an inference. It is the order of nature and of society in its present state. If a woman embraces a woman, it infers nothing.

These words of John Clerk, counsel for Jane Pirie and Marianne Woods—two mistresses of a girls' boarding school who in 1811 were accused of "improper and criminal" conduct—express the basic sentiment of 19th century Europeans toward intimate friendships between women, especially those of the respectable middle class. Although intimate female relations were seen as "natural," at that time moral improbability and physical impossibility were presented as the reasons why the two women did not engage in sexual acts.

Until the last quarter of the 19th century, common belief held that without men, women were incapable of experiencing sexual gratification. The trial of 1811, later the basis for Lillian Hellman's play *The Children's Hour*, was the first time the issue was raised in the British court system. A chain of events that precipitated the controversy began with the admission of Jane Cumming into Pirie's and Wood's boarding school. Cumming seems to have harbored resentment against the two mistresses for the regimen they imposed on her. Whether out of sheer vindictiveness or merely as a means to get out of the school—the reasons are not clear—Cumming soon expressed to her grandmother, the Dame Helen Cumming Gordon, suspicion that the relationship between the two women was of a sexual nature.

Dame Gordon immediately launched a campaign for the withdrawal of all the students from the school. She succeeded. Within a matter of days the school was permanently shut down and the reputations of Woods and Pirie ruined. With the charge of sexual relations hanging over their heads, the two schoolteachers were unable to obtain employment in Scotland. They chose to challenge their accuser, suing Dame Gordon for libel. The case was brought before the Court of Session, the highest court in Scotland.

Romantic friendship.

Scotch Verdict by Lillian Faderman is the first detailed account of the trial and the events that preceded it from a feminist perspective. It is a case study of a "romantic friendship" that bolsters the thesis concerning these friendships first advanced by women's historian Carroll Smith-Rosenberg in her article "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth-Century America" and then elaborated with extensive historical research by Faderman in her first book, *Surpassing the Love of Men*.

All of the strengths and weaknesses associated with a detailed



Women of the 19th century often pledged eternal vows of friendship and love to each other.

that day) could for 10 years have occupied the attention of various Scottish judges. Yet comparable persecution of lesbians continues today, as seen in lesbian mother child custody cases, discrimination in employment, deprogrammers hired by parents to "straighten-out" their daughters and the dismissal of lesbians from the military.

In examining an incident that took place more than 150 years ago, *Scotch Verdict* places popular prejudice against lesbians today in historical perspective. While the trial of 1811 ensued from the social definition of women as "asexual," the contemporary persecution of lesbians occurs in the context of the "sexual revolution." Although advances have been made in separating sexuality from reproduction, society still continues to channel women's sexuality into the "acceptable" mold of heterosexuality. In an ironic twist of fate, if today two women who headed a boarding school for girls were accused of having sexual relations, it is probable that they would lose their case; physical impossibility could no longer be the thread on which to hang their defense.

Only 50 years ago, in 1934, Lillian Hellman apparently felt compelled to distort the facts of the case so that one of the schoolteachers commits suicide after proclaiming her love for the other. As it was, when the film based on the play was released in 1962, headlines advertising the film were sensationalist. The promotional poster carried this description: "What made these women different? Did Nature play an ugly trick and endow them with emotions contrary to those of normal young women? Or was it a child's vicious lie that caused them to live as objects of shame?" Although the screen version muted the original lesbian theme of the play, it still incurred the wrath of *Film in Review* magazine, which editorialized, "There is an explicit scene which asserts that those who choose lesbianism are not destroyed by it—a claim disproven by the number of lesbians who become insane or commit suicide."

Even with the gains made by the gay and lesbian movements in the last decade, it is only a privileged minority of the lesbian population that can be "out" in any sense of the term. In this century, as in 1811, women who conduct their lives independently of men are considered a threat to the male order. The economic independence of some women today allows for relationships of a duration that were seldom possible in the past. However, contemporary knowledge of sexuality also means that close friendships between women are now suspect and no longer regarded with innocence.

Scotch Verdict compels us to question whether we have lost as well as gained when the opinion expressed by the Lord Justice Clerk Hope no longer has the weight of social custom, "According to the known habits of women of this century, there is no indecency in one woman going to bed with another."

■ *Lisa DiCaprio is an apprentice carpenter and a freelance writer who writes for the Guardian, New Women's Times and Jumpcut.*

GAY HISTORY

A scandal in Scotland

study of a single event are exhibited in *Scotch Verdict*. The book does not present new historical data that is not already summarized in *Surpassing the Love of Men* (especially in the chapter "The Asexual Woman"). In fact, *Scotch Verdict* even presumes some basic knowledge of the 19th-century concept of "romantic friendships."

While *Surpassing the Love of Men* has the quality of a sweeping academic work that demonstrates the existence of romantic friendships between European women of the middle and upper-classes throughout various centuries, *Scotch Verdict* is a personalized account of Faderman's research. Told in the first-person, the book is an intellectual adventure undertaken by Faderman and Ollie, her lover and co-researcher, as they investigate the court transcripts. We share in their speculation of the facts and

in all essential ways the women were lovers—they formed a "union of soul."

Two forces combined to transform the once-acceptable "union of soul" into an "unnatural union" in the public eye: the rise of the sexologists such as Kraft-Ebing and Havelock Ellis who posited that sex between women was indeed physically possible; and the increasing economic independence of women that made intimate female friendships a threat to the male order. In the past, this female culture was tolerated because women (except in very rare circumstances) were still dependent on marriage for economic support. In the first half of the 19th century, new opportunities were opened up for women—at least those of middle-class background.

As Faderman documented in *Surpassing the Love of Men*, the rising feminist movement of this

past, such as Lucian's "Dialogues of the Courtesans" where mention is made of the island of Lesbos and sex between women.

As the *Scotch Verdict* shows, the judges assigned to the case were generally scandalized by the accusation that the two schoolteachers had committed sexual acts. Lord Gillies, for example, stated, "Are you to say that every woman who has formed an intimate friendship and has slept in the same bed with another is guilty? Where is the innocent woman in Scotland?"

However, the prevailing view that women were asexual was not the only factor influencing the judges' opinions. Racism played a significant role as well. Jane Cumming, the principal witness against Pirie and Woods, was born out of wedlock in India, the daughter of a British father and Indian mother. Following her father's death, she was adopted by Dame Gordon. Jane Cumming's graphic testimony was dismissed by some as the product of an imagination shaped by exposure to the "sexual practices of the Eastern nations."

The weight of Cummings' testimony was nonetheless sufficient for the Court to decide in favor of Dame Gordon. Pirie and Woods then petitioned for a review and on February 26, 1812, the Court ordered Dame Gordon to pay them damages. She chose, however, to appeal the decision and the case was brought before the House of Lords in London. Nine years later, in 1819, Dame Gordon's appeal was dismissed and Pirie and Woods won their case.

The ultimate victory of the two women was a bitter one, since it could not rectify the fact that Dame Gordon's accusation had brought ruin upon them. Following the closing of the school, Pirie and Woods separated to seek employment. Only partially successful in this endeavor, they were to live out the rest of their lives in impoverishment.

"Venereal congress."

From the modern point of view, it appears as nothing short of bizarre that the singular point of "carnal knowledge" (or "venereal congress" in the words of



In 1811, close relationships between women were all presumed to be asexual.

popular prejudices of the period: the veracity of Jane Cumming as a witness, the possibility of sexual relations between the two women and the motivations of the judges who presided over the case.

What, then, were these "romantic friendships"—widely tolerated and presumed to be asexual? Historical records show that between the Renaissance and the last quarter of the 19th century, women often shared physical and emotional intimacy, with some women pledging eternal vows of friendship and love to each other. Although they did not necessarily have a sexual relationship in the narrow sense of the term,

period was met immediately with an anti-feminist backlash. The sexologists of the 1860s provided a "scientific" weapon against the newly emerging female independence. Women who desired autonomy were not "real women," but perverts who were attempting to imitate men.

The trial of 1811 occurred during the era of Victorian morality before the rise of the sexologists and when women's relationships were still essentially considered to be asexual. The lawyers for Dame Gordon were at a clear disadvantage. Unable to cite evidence from their own era, they were obligated to bring forth various quotations from the distant

ART & ENTERTAINMENT



By Pat Aufderheide

MOVIES

Latin American film shows no fear of flying

"I haven't wept at a movie in years," says a friend about *Alsino and the Condor*. "And it's the first film my six-year-old and I could both get really involved in."

But the *Washington Post's* film reviewer Gary Arnold calls it "a Communist allegorical groaner about a crippled peasant lad who finds a murky purpose in life by mingling with rural insurgents during the 1978 revolution in Nicaragua."

And Arnold is no froth-at-the-mouth right-winger. In fact he's in good company with most mainline critics in the U.S. in his opinion on the film. Even though the Nicaraguan-Costa Rican-Cuban-Mexican co-production won an Oscar nomination for Best Foreign Film last year, it is widely seen as a piece of sentimentalized propaganda.

Thus the film may make a case both for and against the emotion-soaked storytelling Hollywood has made the international prototype for feature film. The format doesn't dilute or smother the message, but neither does it make it acceptable to American liberals, for whom politics is a profession practiced by an ultra-pragmatic few under occasional electoral surveillance by the many who have been freed from political responsibility.

Not that *Alsino*, with its lyric Latin populism, is reduceable to a Hollywood formula. But it does fit nicely with the Saturday-night-out expectations of viewers used to watching strong characters traveling through personal crisis in color and in close-up, and in less than two hours.

The film was made by Miguel Littin, one of the big names in the new Latin American cinema movement. He first surfaced internationally in 1969 with his shocking *The Jackal of Nahuel-toro* and became the head of Chile's film institute in the Allende years, producing the epic of peasant revolt, *The Promised Land* (completed after the coup). *Alsino* is the film that Littin's supporters have been waiting for—a work of maturity by a filmmaker with a unique style and an intense, socially rooted passion.

Meeting the Americans.

The story is a stripped-down, simple, bold allegory of revolution. Alsino (Alan Esquivel) is a country kid who lives with his grandmother and plays with the girl next door. One day while they are climbing trees—Alsino dreams of being able to fly, and likes to climb to the high branches—an army helicopter painted

with the symbol of the condor (a viciously strong predator), piloted by an American adviser (Dean Stockwell) spots them. On their way home, suspicious soldiers pick them up and bring them back to the barracks in a jeep. But an American, Frank, takes a liking to Alsino, partly to spite the inept and brutal Latin major (Alejandro Parodi), who warns him that in this country kids are often guerrillas. Frank treats Alsino to a ride in his helicopter, imagining he is fulfilling Alsino's dreams of flying.

But for Alsino it's not the same as flying on your own. Taking matters into his own hands, he jumps from the treetop one night during a dramatic storm. The fall leaves him crippled, and while recovering he finds that his grandmother must sell their last possession, a horse, to survive. After the sale, he earns his living for a while with a man who sells forest birds as goodluck charms; he cripples their wings to domesticate them. Although the birdman claims he is a free man, the soldiers who stop the two of them on the road for interrogation make a mockery of his claims.

Meanwhile, the army is losing its battles. Frank lays out new strategies in coolly objective military tones, while soldiers execute the project with hallucinatory brutality. When Frank's fellow officer, a Dutch mercenary (Jan Kees de Roy), dies in an ambush, Frank goes for an all-out offensive.

While on the road, Alsino discovers from passersby that his grandmother is dying. Hurrying home, he happens on soldiers in mid-massacre, shooting down fleeing peasants in the lake that once looked so idyllic. One of the dead is his playmate's father, Manuel. Alsino decides to join the guerrillas.

The offensive turns into a bloody conflict, with guerrillas blowing up the army's jeeps. They shoot down Frank's helicopter, and he dies in the cockpit, dangling from the branches

of the tree Alsino once climbed. When one of the guerrillas asks his name, Alsino stands up straight for the first time since his injury and says, "Manuel."

Flight means freedom.

This is not a movie you need to strain in order to interpret. Alsino is the emblem of the people, his desire to fly the urge to be free. The American helicopter represents the foreign and artificial solution, and his accident marks the perils of individualism. His dreams find fulfillment when he joins the struggle.

The plot has all the subtlety of, say, *Pilgrim's Progress*. But the film doesn't allow stick symbols to carry the story. Instead Littin uses the fiction feature film as a documentary form—as a docu-



Many U.S. critics call *ALSINO* sentimental Communist propaganda.

Alsino: a country boy who joins Nicaragua's revolutionaries.

ment of the dreams, hopes and feelings of people too long labeled either victims or terrorists. He uses film's ability to make a subjective impression look like objective reality.

The scenes unroll without explanation, and we "read" them in the same puzzlement and shock of awareness that Alsino does. The early part of the film is flooded with the beauty of his rural world—the sun-flecked forest, his firelit hut, the mountain vistas at dawn. The soldiers who burst into that mood rupture it with the ominous sound of machinery and their aggressive gestures.

Magical realism is realism.

Lyrical and macabre elements co-exist in brilliant tropicalism. Littin's expressionistic style is a cinematic aspect of the magical realism that reflects daily reality in Latin America. If there is hyperbole in his expression, the exaggeration lies more with life than art.

Like the recent Latin American novels *Widows* (by Chilean Ariel Dorfman) and *A Day of Life* (by Salvadoran Manlio Argueta), the film makes the oppressor characters as real as its peasant heroes. The major, who would look like a caricature in his dark glasses if you hadn't seen a recent photo of Guatemala's new leader, is fueled by macho fear—flanked by an endlessly resilient populace on one side and a cruelly contemptuous band of foreigners on the other. In one scene, returning from a savage mission, he breaks down and his raving account of persecution is portrayed realistically by the filmmaker. He imagines being gunned down by his own men, only to be restored to exhausted and horrified reality in the next moment. (His downfall at the end of the film has an even more phantasmagoric quality, only it's real.)

Equally vivid in communicating the tension the oppressors live under is a scene in which the two foreign advisers come to blows while getting drunk in a barracks room littered with such artifacts of civilization as a Mari-

lyn Monroe T-shirt.

Frank, appalled by his Dutch friend's cynicism and by the army's ineptitude and brutality, spills out his own passion. He is fighting, he explains (he is a constant explainer), to protect these people from the dire consequences of "the Communists'" promises of equality. In his reality, the world is like a duplex, with Communists on one side and capitalists on the other. They share a toilet, which is the Third World; and either the Communists make us clean it up after they use it, or we get there first. Stockwell's performance as an all-American Marine makes his anguish as real as his arrogance. He wants to love all these people in the toilet, but he can only pity them.

With its fully orchestrated scenes from a living hell (Nicaragua yesterday, El Salvador and Guatemala today), *Alsino* does not merely offer moving-picture portraits of war. It traces the development of a conflict that touches people at the core of their lives and at the heart of their beliefs. And the conflict changes them.

Alsino in other times might grow from a dreamy country boy to a happily married mountain farmer. But the ever-escalating war drives him from home and eventually turns him into a guerrilla that the major sees in him at the beginning of the film. The message of the movie isn't finally a defense of a political ideology. It is that this political struggle is at root a human one, a fight for personal dignity and security.

U.S. reaction.

That is precisely why the movie has been received in this country with such hostility in the mainstream media. For both liberals and conservatives here, politics and personal life exist in different realms. Ideology is not social expression, but manipulation. In this view of things, the evocation of human drama in a political conflict is merely an attempt to twang our heartstrings into sympathizing with political propagandists.

No wonder that a major criticism of the film is the so-called "ugly American" characterization of Frank. Frank actually is shown as a person with ideals and a good heart, a man who loves children and wants to protect people. But his political vision bears no relation to what these people are experiencing. His cool military plans are transformed into bloodthirsty and clumsy debacles; his sentimental phrases are regarded by military men and peasants alike with jaundiced patience.

Frank's talk of duplexes and toilets sounds disconcertingly familiar. We all know the Third World as an issue, as a source of guilt, as a blight on the international economy, as an unstable piece in the political boardgame. But to be confronted with the human experience of political conflict, to be immersed in an atmosphere where domestic life isn't insulated from the political structure, is shocking.

Alsino and the Condor is not propaganda. But it certainly is intended, at least in its international release, as subversive—as a work of art that subverts our ready-made categories. The controversy that it has generated testified to its artistic power, but also to the strength of our own political ideology. It touches people who question the universality of the terms of our politics, but it outrages those who don't.

By Katherine Ellison

Who are you who will read these words and study these photographs...and what will you do about it...?

—James Agee, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*

Jacob Holdt's America is a foreign land to most Americans.

It's a country where injustice is shown by an illiterate farmhand's surprise to hear the nation has a space program, and where poverty is portrayed by a black Southern family driven to eat dirt.

It's a country admittedly viewed with a sharp focus on misery. Yet it is also clearly a country today drawing more and more unwilling immigrants within its boundaries.

A tall, 35-year-old Dane with mesmeric eyes and a foot-long beard worn in a braid, Holdt toured that country for five years in the mid-'70s, taking pictures and collecting notes that would later become a book and a five-hour slide show, both called "American Pictures."

Holdt began showing the slide show in a rented theater in San Francisco last year, and now the pictures are touring campuses throughout the U.S. His book, already popular in Europe, is due to be published in English in March.

The project began—without Holdt realizing it—in 1971, when he began his travels. A 24-year-old ex-factory worker living in Canada at the time, Holdt intended to hitchhike through South America. Although he had never been to the U.S., he imagined it, from Danish news reports, to be just a "big, boring, white, middle-class country." It was simply an expanse of land he had to cross before the real trip began.

But Holdt never made it to the Mexican border. In the midst of the Vietnam and Watergate era, the U.S. was much more diverse and exciting than he had thought it could be. So Holdt lingered and explored, hitchhiking back and forth along the Eastern seaboard, selling blood each week to pay for expenses.

"I got stuck," he says. "And I'm still stuck."

Before he crossed the Canadian border, he had never seen a pistol. Two days after arriving in New York, he was held up and robbed. Within the next five years he was arrested twice by the FBI, detained four times by the Secret Service and ambushed once by the Ku Klux Klan.

The U.S. intrigued Holdt.

His parents, who refused to believe his letters, sent him a pocket camera so that he could provide them with proof of his experiences. Those photographs and tapes became Holdt's slide-show, which opened in 13 European countries in 1977.

"It has shown us another way of seeing America—things people from here normally never see," says Erik Schnetter, cultural editor for the Copenhagen newspaper *Ekstra Bladet*.

Poverty is ignored.

In five years of wanderings, Holdt discovered that—despite decades of civil rights battles, democratic reforms and affluence—abysmal poverty still exists in the U.S. He also discovered unaffected Americans still really don't want to know about it. "What I saw then has worsened a lot," Holdt says. "But because of the economy, the people want to see it even less. A lid has been put on the prob-

lem. Everyone is worried about their own troubles now."

Holdt's pictures, and the taped voices accompanying them, spare nothing: A New York heroin addict shoots up through an open vein in his calf; a hooded Klansman makes fun of Martin Luther King's assassination; a bloodied man lies in a ghetto street.

While most of the slides show glimpses of poverty and violence, others display wealth and indulgence. Pursuing these images, Holdt's technique was to let himself drift in and out of people's lives, withholding judgment. When he needed to, he swept his long hair under a short wig, or displayed credentials finagled from a Danish newspaper. That, and his gentle, exotic manner, helped him earn the cooperation of those he met.

"I became a vagabond," he says. "My philosophy was always to say yes to people; I could never say no. As a vagabond, you give yourself to every human being. It's a beautiful way of traveling...."

He says he stayed in 381 homes along the way, and traveled 102,000 miles in all.

The friends he made included: a 104-year-old former slave taken into captivity at the age of 12, in 1853; a family of \$4-a-day cotton-pickers with whom he hunted for armadillos; an elderly Soviet Jewish woman living in Manhattan, so penniless and lonely that her one dream was to go back home; Joan Little, who won fame by murdering the jailer who raped her; and West Virginia Gov. John D. Rockefeller, with whom Holdt drank and talked one night in 1974, after he knocked on the then-Wesleyan University president's mansion door during a blizzard.



Jacob Holdt, a Danish traveler who vagabonded around the U.S. taking photos, was intrigued by the poverty and violence he found.

A rainy Monday night at the New Varsity Theater in Palo Alto, near Stanford University, finds Holdt standing quietly in the lobby. It is intermission during a special screening of the show and he is collecting money for posters of pictures he has taken.

Hunching slightly and clasping his hands before him, he listens, like a clergyman.

"How long is the intermission?" someone asks.

"Uh, 10 minutes, um, or as long as you want," Holdt says.

A young black man walks up and reaches out shyly for a soul-brother handshake. "I just want to say...thank you," the young



PHOTOGRAPHY

Stranger in a strange land

man says. "Thank you."

Holdt—speechless—nods and smiles and then nods again.

Inevitably, Holdt stands out in a crowd. His beard is mostly responsible for that. But even more engrossing are his eyes: deep-set and unblinking, under jutting brows.

Holdt is so strikingly handsome that it's easy to understand why so many people, especially women, took him into their homes.

"On my last trip back to the South, it was rather amazing," he says. "Black people kept coming up to me to tell me I looked like Jesus.... I don't know if that has helped me or not...."

While clearly no saint or martyr, Holdt, as a foreigner here, was able to perceive truths too elusive or sickening for others to recognize.

He says the life he left in Den-

mark was affluent, polite and safe. He rebelled against it and was kicked out of high school. Then rejecting family pressure to join the ministry, he joined the army, but was forced to leave for refusing to fire a gun.

The life he made here drew him among destitute thieves, prostitutes and murderers.

"It seemed strange to be brought back in time—these were conditions we have not known in Denmark for the past 100 years," Holdt says.

He found slavery still alive in the migrant labor camps the attorney general raided while he was in Florida. Slavery is alive, too, he says, in the prisons from which inmates are trucked each day to work on roads or private beaches in wealthy Palm Beach neighborhoods.

Black poverty, which he calls "more destructive and dehuman-

in these times October 5-11, 1983 21 izing than any other poverty in the world," was the most compelling situation he found in the U.S. The show is full of pictures of blacks lying disheveled in the road, toiling on Southern farms, prostituting themselves on street corners.

Tale of two countries.

In his slide show, he splits the screen to show the contrasts: a scantily dressed Boston woman reclining in a king-sized bed with a life-sized stuffed bear is shown next to an overweight, undernourished black woman lying on her own rough cot. A photograph of a well-dressed white family standing outside the tall columns of their white Southern mansion appears next to a picture of skinny black children playing near a lean-to.

Often in the show, Holdt's horror at the disparities he found breaks out in dogma, such as when he urges viewers to "stop the master race culture's violence," or when he shows a picture of himself, with a rifle, standing under revolutionary posters.

And yet he insists: "I'd be dishonest if I tried to conceal the fact that I've come to like members of the upper class. It is far easier to hate than to understand."

European audiences—especially the Germans, with their legacies of racism and shame—can't abide by that attitude, he says, and often shout or walk out of the theater when he speaks of the Klansmen he came to see as "lonely individuals...who have grown used to thinking of themselves as trash."

But after having spent an evening in drunken conversation with Rockefeller in West Virginia, Holdt says, "I cannot hate the family once I know its background."

"Of course it's true that [Nelson] Rockefeller ordered murder [by summoning the National Guard during riots at Attica prison]. But behind this role is a man who, under other circumstances, wouldn't be what he is."

The Rockefellers, however, have shrunk from Holdt's embrace. A press secretary insisted West Virginia Gov. John D. Rockefeller had never heard of Holdt, adding: "The governor does not drink, and never has. In fact, he's nearly notorious as a teetotaler."

As the last slides of Holdt's show come onto the screen in the Palo Alto theater, Holdt's accented voice on the soundtrack observes: "I know all too well these pictures will only become a catharsis for people—made entertainment for the oppressors. ...No one's going to give up their car...they'll do nothing to threaten their privileges."

The music in the soundtrack swells in the room filled mostly with admiring college students bedecked *a la* L.L. Bean.

The photographs click by faster, becoming a senseless kaleidoscope of scenes linked merely by their common abhorrence: scenes of New York riots, men shot down in the street, prisoners eating from metal trays perched on toilet seats, clenched black fists thrust through prison bars, and people hurrying by under the black, black shadows of ghetto fences.

"But will these pictures horrify people so much that they'll hold on all the tighter to what they have?" Holdt's voice asks.

He leaves the question unanswered.

Katherine Ellison is a reporter for the San Jose Mercury.

Jackson

Continued from page 8

bund, they are also critical of him. He is seen as possessed by an overweening ego that leads him to see himself in messianic, semi-divine terms (PUSH originally was People United to Save Humanity, but "Save" is now "Serve"). As a consequence, many see him as unaccountable to allies, a loose cannon who cuts a dramatic figure and thus has been catapulted into leadership by the mutual manipulation between Jackson and the media.

Jackson, his critics charge, rarely follows through on his projects and flits from issue to issue, causing much furor but few results. Jackson casually dismisses such criticism, saying he is a catalyst—a "tree-shaker" who loosens the fruit for other "jelly makers" to follow up with. Yet his failure to work with others and to provide strong follow-up and organization has meant that the potential power of his leadership image has often been squandered.

For example, PUSH never developed an effective organization in its home city of Chicago that could support independent political candidates against the local Democratic machine, despite Jackson's continual exhortations to voters to register and his occasional political confrontations with machine politicians. In Harold Washington's campaign, Jackson aided the original registration drive and helped in the primaries, although he exaggerated his importance to the media in a post-campaign memo. After a disastrous TV appearance the night of Washington's primary victory, the Washington campaign kept Jackson at a distance to minimize white resentment.

"PUSH is not really an organizational vehicle," argues independent strategist Don Rose, who has worked with Jackson. "It's a cathartic vehicle. It's like going to church. You walk in and you get saved for a week. If you talk about people PUSH can put on the street, it's not a whole lot."

In these final weeks before his decision, Jackson is seeking broader support among black leaders and symbolic representatives of his rainbow coalition, commitments of money and organization before announcing his decision. But it seems clear that organization will be the crucially weak link (PUSH claims 75,000 members, but only in the loosest sense.)

Both Pat Gill, voter registration director of the Citizen Leadership Foundation, and Geraldine Thompson, director of the Voter Education Project—two groups with ongoing registration efforts in the South—acknowledge that Jackson's forays into the South created interest and enthusiasm among unregistered blacks. But they said that Jackson did not coordinate his appearances with groups that were doing the hard work of registration, made no effort on his own to follow up on his exhortations and in some cases stirred up white backlash registration that effectively cancelled out black voter gains. (Voter Education Project hopes to register 325,000 new voters this year and perhaps half a million in 1984.)

Jackson, who will be 42 on October 8, has since his childhood always wanted to be a star—the Moses leading an army. Born to an unwed teenager in Greenville, S.C., he grew up in a household that was hardly well off but not desperately poor. Ambitious in high school, he became a student civil rights leader in college, later offering his services to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) when Martin Luther King Jr. came to Chicago. Always assertive to the point of irritating associates, Jackson angered many of them further after King's assassination, when he attempted to present himself as having been at King's side, cradling him and getting blood stains on his shirt. Witnesses said Jackson was some distance away.

But in Jackson's mind, the torch had been passed, and he was determined to become what King had been. His grandiose sense of self and mission contributed

to conflicts with other leaders and to his eventual departure from SCLC's Operation Breadbasket to form PUSH. Since then, Jackson has become the highest-profile civil rights leader in the country at a time when the greatest achievements in black political life have come out of political victories in Congress and the big cities. There is considerable dispute about what Jackson has accomplished beyond his own fervid "country preaching" and mobilization of black sentiment.

But whatever misgivings some may have about Jackson personally, he has immense energy that is now directed, according to former PUSH Vice-President Joseph Gardner, toward "moving the Democratic Party back to its roots, its populist roots."

"There are issues equally as important to blacks as the defeat of Reagan," Ridick says. "Defeat of Reagan is not automatically bringing of justice. The question is always asked of us, will you lead the party to defeat? But Askew, Hollings and Hart are asked that and they're behind the Reverend in the polls" (where Jackson has been scoring 5 to 9 percent support).

Rep. John Conyers (D-Mich.) says of the risk that Jackson might hurt Mondale or even help Reagan: "It's a risk we have to take. It is more important to introduce a serious black candidate."

Jackson has personal flaws (although not above the norm for presidential candidates) and his past image may make some whites balk at accepting him. Yet he has the capacity to vividly articulate a clear alternative to Reagan, push the Democrats to the left and bring a new constituency to politics demanding leftward movement.

Jews

Continued from page 9

Managua. Of the approximately 50 people who remained, the majority left around the time of Somoza's ouster.

"Many Jews left because they had ties to Somoza," said Rolland Najlis, a retired Jewish businessman living in Managua. He believes that others left because "they were afraid of possible reprisals, since Israel had sold arms to the Somoza dictatorship." But, he added, "None were expelled from the country for being Jewish."

Najlis said those who stayed have been treated no differently from other Nicaraguans. Some two dozen Jewish-owned businesses, including the country's largest electronic parts store, continue to operate in Nicaragua today. These companies function unharassed, although the owners of at least two of them have left the country.

Marta Baltodano, director of the anti-Sandinista Permanent Commission on Human Rights, said that the Sandinistas took the property of many Nicaraguans, Jews and non-Jews, who left the country. "Violations did occur in that there were no legal proofs they had ties to Somoza," said Baltodano. "But there is not a Sandinista government policy against Jews because they are Jewish."

Although only a handful of Jews remain in Nicaragua, four cabinet ministers are of Jewish descent.

ADL testimony.

ADL's report quoted the testimony of two Jewish exiles, congregation president Abraham Gorn and Isaac Stavisky. One of Nicaragua's wealthiest men, Gorn was a friend of the Somoza family and a regular contributor to the dictator's National Liberal Party. Former employees remembered how, in 1971, Gorn had the National Guard tear-gas striking workers at his factory.

The Sandinistas jailed Gorn for two weeks in late 1979 while investigating his possible involvement in Israeli arms sales to Somoza. Upon his release, Gorn sought asylum in the Costa Rican embassy, and a special plane from Costa Rica flew him out of the country. Antonio Jarquin, Nicaragua's ambassador to the U.S., said that at the time Gorn

left, he owed the national bank \$370,000. Gorn's factory was confiscated under Decree 38, which authorized the seizure of property belonging to "all allies of Somocismo."

Stavisky said that during the latter stages of the revolution, his life was threatened and he found anti-Semitic graffiti on the walls of his factories. He claimed that he and other Jews fled Nicaragua because they feared persecution under the Sandinista government.

But, according to Najlis, "although they may have left from fear of repression, that repression has never come to pass."

A few isolated anti-Semitic incidents did occur during the revolution's final stages. The worst was a 1978 firebombing of a synagogue that slightly damaged the building. Herty Lewites speculated the attack stemmed from a failure to distinguish between Nicaraguan Jews and the government of Israel, which at the time was providing 98 percent of Somoza's arms.

According to ADL, the Nicaraguans "commandeered" the Managua synagogue upon seizing power, placed "Sandinista propaganda" over exterior Stars of David and covered the interior with "anti-Zionist" posters. A July study by Nicaragua's National Commission on Human Rights agreed the government had turned the synagogue over to the Sandinista Children's Association, but said the building had been abandoned before Somoza's overthrow. The Commission also said groups of refugee families lived on the premises for two years without anyone claiming ownership, at which point the synagogue was turned over to the Children's Association.

Today the building remains in excellent condition, its facade decorated by a colorful mural. The "anti-Zionist" materials inside apparently referred to posters put up last year during an aid campaign for Palestinian refugee children.

In an August 29 meeting with ADL, Nicaraguan Ambassador Jarquin condemned anti-Semitism as "morally reprehensible" and contrary to Nicaraguan law, and pledged to return the synagogue to the Jewish community. ADL chair Kenneth Bialkin welcomed the gesture, but cautioned that the "record of Nicaragua will be determined by actions, not assertions."

ADL did uncover anti-Semitic comments in the pro-government newspaper *El Nuevo Diario*. During last year's invasion of Lebanon, the paper ran stories claiming that "the world's money, banking and finance are in the hands of descendants of Jews, the eternal protectors of Zionism," and that Ronald Reagan "must have Jewish ancestry" because of his support for Israel. Even in its article refuting ADL's charges, *Nuevo Diario* referred to "the great chain of newspapers that are dominated by the most reactionary among American Jewry."

Rabbi Morton Rosenthal, head of the ADL's Latin American Affairs Department, blamed Nicaragua's alleged anti-Semitism on two factors: Israel arms sales to Somoza and the Sandinistas' close relationship with the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). While the Sandinistas, like many other governments, make no effort to hide their support for the Palestinians, this has not led to persecution of Jews.

But Rosenthal told President Reagan in July, "In El Salvador, Guatemala, Panama and Honduras, the PLO and Libyan agents are spreading the venom of anti-Semitism."

The specter of anti-Jewish repression spreading across Central America is another weapon in President Reagan's arsenal of arguments justifying U.S. policy, and has been especially effective within the American Jewish community. Jewish support is becoming doubly important to the administration because of Israel's deepening involvement in the Central American conflict.

The same day Reagan met with Jewish leaders about Sandinista anti-Semitism, the *New York Times* reported that Israel had begun sending captured PLO weapons to the CIA-backed contras in Honduras. The *Times* said that Israel had

agreed to send the arms as part of a U.S.-designed "enlarged Israeli role in Central America...as a way of supplementing American military aid to friendly governments and supporting insurgent operations against the Nicaraguan government."

Paul Glickman is a staff writer for Rip'n' Read News Service in San Francisco. Ilana DeBare was a research associate at the U.S.-El Salvador Research Center in Berkeley. Both recently returned from Nicaragua.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions** and **\$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **Beth Maschlinot**.

PHILADELPHIA, PA

October 6

Witness: A Demonstration of Faith and Conscience. The first German immigrants to the U.S. left their country 300 years ago to avoid military conscription. The Reagan administration is using this anniversary to call for the deployment of nuclear arms on German soil. An alternative tricentennial celebration will begin at 7:30 p.m. at the Philadelphia Art Museum. Speakers will include Erhard Eppler and former NATO General Gert Bastian.

October 7

Conference: "Friendship without Missiles." A one-day working conference to bring together U.S. and German peace activists. Speakers include: Gaby Potthast, a Green Party member of Parliament, Erhard Eppler, and NATO General Gert Bastian. 9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. Germantown Friends Meeting, 47 Coulter. Sponsored by US-Eurolinks in cooperation with the October 6 Witness.

NEW YORK, NY

October 2-15

The Fourth Wall Repertory opens a new year of political theater with *The Garbage of Eden*, political cabaret; *Toto and the Wizard of Wall Street*, kids' rock musical; *Freedom Ain't No Bowl of Cherries*, musical comedy; *Music Alive!* rock with community jam. Truck and Warehouse Theater, 79 E. 4th St. For info: (212) 254-5060.

October 11-November 18

The third New York City Labor Film Festival showcasing acclaimed labor films and new productions. Screenings are 7:45 p.m. Tuesdays and Fridays at the NYU Main Building, 100 Washington Square East, Room 703. Admission is free. Film schedule: Oct. 11—*Labor's Turning Point*; Oct. 14—*Temiscaming, Quebec*; Oct. 18—*Memorial Day Massacre of 1937*; *Margaret, Beating and the Union Busters*; Oct. 21—*Blow for Blow*; Oct. 25—*We Are One, The Sewing Woman* (at ILGWU Archives, 275 7th Ave.); Oct. 28—*Native Land*; Nov. 1—*Poletown Lives!*; Nov. 4—*Men and Dust, Our Health Is Not for Sale, Mass Transit Street Theatre*. For more info, call the Center for Labor Studies 279-7380 or the NYC Labor Hotline 533-6515.

October 14

Benefit Dance Party for the New Feminist Library of Monthly Review Press. From 8 p.m. on at the District 65 union hall, 13 Astor Place. Tickets: \$10 at door, \$8 in advance from New Feminist Library, c/o Ross, 890 West End Ave., N.Y.C. 10025.

CHICAGO, IL

October 18

Guillermo Ungo, president of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) of El Salvador, will speak at 7:30 p.m. in People's Church, 941 W. Lawrence. Sponsored by the Democratic Socialists of America.

MORGANTOWN, WV

October 15-21

WVU Public Forum on World Peace. Over 30 speakers, including Dave Dellinger, Michael Klare, Staughton Lynd, Manning Marable, Molly Rush, Gene Sharp. Over 20 films, including *In the King of Prussia and Gandhi*. Bond Street Theater Coalition. Concert by Sweet Honey in the Rock. Contact Jerry Starr, (412) 341-8694 or (304) 293-5801.

Vietnam

Continued from page 13

A list of either the omissions or the deceptions perpetuated by this series would take pages upon pages. Only a few will be offered here.

• Vietnam was not a "mistake" of any kind; it was a testing ground. The idea of limited conventional war as a war of attrition, a production model of war, was first articulated by Henry Kissinger in the '50s as a way to utilize American production superiority without resorting to nuclear war; his approach found much favor in ruling circles.

• By the time the first Marines waded ashore the Johnson administration knew full well that the war would require several hundred thousand American troops for five to seven years at minimum. This is not a "secret" truth; the memos and studies are all listed in the *Pentagon Papers*.

• With the military acceptance of the corporate model of organization, the production model of war, also came the concept of "career management" for the officer corps. In their desires for promotion, the officer corps came to indulge in systematic falsification of all their military operations in Vietnam. This phenomenon is openly talked about in some military publications, a few scholarly studies, and in virtually every single memoir and novel published by low-level American troops—a body of more than 200 volumes.

• American strategy did not change after the Tet Offensive in 1968. Search and destroy missions went on for the rest of '68, '69 and '70 and a good part of '71. There are published accounts of high-level conferences held after the war in

which generals and civilian war-managers openly speculate on how the hell the American people came to think the strategy changed after February 1968.

• Although *Vietnam: A Television History* mentions the secret war conducted by the CIA in Laos, it avoids the most important feature of that campaign—namely that it was financed by expanding the heroin trade in Southeast Asia, involving high-level Laotian and South Vietnamese officials and conducted with CIA cooperation. At one point in the series an American GI mentions that heroin was available for five bucks a vial, but nothing is ever said about where the heroin came from. (The evidence on this question is as "hard" as heroin is a hard drug; see Alfred W. McCoy's *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia*.)

• Finally, the PBS series remains completely silent on the breakdown and revolt of the American ground forces during the late '60s and early '70s. Although the soldiers interviewed don't seem very happy, and there is a brief film clip of veterans demonstrating in Washington in 1971, there is no discussion of "fraggings"—entire companies pitching in \$25 a piece for the captain's head, with the reward money going to the man who pulled the trigger or threw the grenade. Milder versions of mutiny included "talking it out," heart-to-heart discussions between troops and their commanders, and "search and avoid," a set of tactics designed to avoid the enemy rather than engage them. The military has been talking about the breakdown of troop discipline for 10 years; they fear it will happen again. Although most of academia is either afraid to discuss the subject or else views the war as purely the result of elite decision-makers, a sizable fraction of the grunt novels and memoirs include mutiny as a more or less routine aspect of the Vietnam war.

• And what of the anti-war movement

in the U.S.? Guess what! It didn't really exist in any important sense, according to the Vietnam series. Program 11, "Home-front USA" is a strong contender for the worst segment of the series. Only the briefest, most marginal interviews with anti-war leaders are included. Interviews with college men who say they opposed the war because they were afraid of dying take up far more time. A great deal of attention is given to administration viewpoints harshly condemning the anti-war movement for "dividing" the American people and thus making it more difficult to negotiate with the Vietnamese and end the war. By far the most well-articulated position in this segment expresses the idea that the anti-war movement prolonged the war.

As Walter Cronkite used to say, "And that's the way it is." But the PBS series is not the way it was. You can still learn something about the Vietnam war from it, however. Carefully listen to the Vietnamese on both sides, together with the American GIs. Watch for the film clips that have no introduction. The early material on the French is also very good. Beyond that, beware that you're being exposed to an extraordinary pack of lies and omissions.

William Gibson teaches sociology at UCLA. He is finishing a book on the U.S. military in Vietnam and researching another on network news coverage of the Vietnam war.

In Days

Continued from page 24

play baseball. And any mother is thinking, like me, love is letting your kid play baseball in the summer months. Love is hoping your kid understands that when you say no, love is hoping he don't take

no for the wrong thing and turn out to be a little thief.

Because when a child gets hungry, he gets rejected too many times, he will steal. He will steal.

The only time Danny hates it is when he wants to do something and I don't have the money. It's not a lot of times that it happens. Like now, the kids went to Washington from the school. He couldn't go because I couldn't give him \$98. And then the kids went to Riverside (amusement park), and maybe I didn't have that, five or 10; I couldn't send my boy.

And summer. He's out of school now. He wants to go South; I can't send him. When my kid sits around and looks sad-eyed at me, I tell you, my heart just cries for him.

I would tell someone who just lost their job to go through all this depression that you have to go through. Get it over with. Try not to get stuck in the house. Don't withdraw.

I would tell them, try always to think positive about yourself. It's hard. It's very hard. After you go through anger, denial, the emotional thing, then everything else sort of falls in place.

'Cause when you're unemployed, the first couple of weeks, that's a personal thing. Between yourself and you. You know, that's your thing. Regardless of what anybody else can tell you, nobody, whatever they say, nothing can make you feel better.

And you can handle it as long as you don't get yourself to the point where you can't come out. You know, complete withdrawal from the outside. You've gotta pick yourself up by your bootstraps and keep right on going. Because nobody's gonna pick you up. Nobody picked me up.

Paul Bass is an editor for the Cooperative News Service.

CLASSIFIED

PUBLICATIONS

ELECTION CAMPAIGNERS: Precinct targeting microcomputer software. Baltimore Information Coop, 1443 Gorsuch, Baltimore, MD 21218.

WHAT IS MARXISM? by Bertell Ollman. Here is the short (10 pages), clear, nonsectarian, lively treatment of Marxism, which touches all the main bases that you always wanted for your class or study group. 50¢ each; prepaid bulk orders only; minimum of 10; add \$1 mailing and handling charge for every 10 pamphlets ordered; New York State residents add sales tax. Red Hot Publications, P.O. Box 356, Peck Slip Station, New York, NY 10038. Bookstore discounts available.

THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, voice of socialist industrial unionism, speaks loud and clear, with a program for a Socialist Society, 4 issues \$3.00, P.O. Box 80T, New York, NY 10159.

"CAPITALISM and Unemployment" Free 61-page pamphlet with \$4/1-year subscription to biweekly Marxist newspaper. The People (T), 914 Industrial Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94303.

OF BIRDS AND FACTORIES, working-class feminist poetry by Sue Doro. Foreword by Meridel Le Sueur, \$5.50 (including postage), c/o Peoples Books, 1818 N. Farwell Ave., Milwaukee, WI 53202.

HELP WANTED

FUNDRAISER—IN THESE TIMES. We are looking for an aggressive, or-

ganized, self-motivated person, committed to the principles of *In These Times*. Applicants must have the ability to work closely with the publisher and business manager in developing funding sources. Contact Ruth Greenspan or James Weinstein, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. (312) 472-5700.

OVERSEAS, CRUISE JOBS. \$20,000-60,000/year possible. Call (805) 687-6000, ext. J-2440.

FRED SMALL, nationally touring singer of peace, pro-feminist, progressive songs, seeks booking agent/manager. Experience preferred but not required. 15 hours/week minimum. 38 Jay St., Cambridge, MA 02139. (617) 497-1416.

BUTTONS, POSTERS, ETC.

FUNDRAISING ITEMS IN-STOCK. Largest variety at lowest prices. We also custom-manufacture union-made buttons and bumperstickers. "The Source" since 1961. Free wholesale catalog. Larry Fox, P.O. Box M-8, Valley Stream, NY 11582, (516) 791-7929.

WHEN YOUR HEART IS ON THE

GUILD BOOKS

2456 North Lincoln Avenue
Chicago, IL 60614

New store hours: noon-10:30 p.m.
seven days a week

Literature • History • Politics
Art • Women & Minority Studies
Wide Selection—Periodicals &
Records • Books in Spanish
Come in and browse.

LEFT...T-shirts: "Mutants for nuclear power," "After 5000 years of civilization, we deserve a break," "Too much of a good thing can be wonderful" (Mae West), more. Posters: Virginia Woolf, Zapata, Sacred Motherhood, Nicaragua, Emma Goldman, more. Send \$1 for catalog to: Red Pepper, P.O. Box 11308-T, San Francisco, CA 94101.

AUTHORS WANTED BY N.Y. PUBLISHER

Leading subsidy book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, juvenile, scholarly and religious works, etc. New authors welcomed. Send for free booklet Z-89 Vantage Press, 516 W. 34th St., New York, N.Y. 10001 U.S.A.



Free Peace Gift Catalog!

Unique, lovely religious peace postcards, labels, patches, Quaker tea, more! Simple Gifts-TT, Box 1361 Falls Church, Va. 22041

BEQUESTS

WHEN DRAFTING YOUR WILL, please consider making a bequest to *In These Times*. For information write: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

VOLUNTEERS

ITT needs volunteers. Gain political/practical experience in a stimulating environment. Work a four-hour shift once a week. Benefits include staff subscription rates, ping-pong and softball. Call Kathleen at 472-5700.

SERVICES

NEW CREDIT CARD! NOBODY re-

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

Learn about the revolution. Year round programs. Call 212-391-2695 or write to Casa Nicaraguense de Espanol 70 Greenwich Ave. Rm. 559 New York, NY 10011

fused! Also Visa/Mastercard. Call (805) 687-6000, Ext. C-2440.

ATTENTION

MOVING? Let *In These Times* be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: *In These Times*, Circulation Dept., 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

EDUCATION

HOME STUDY COURSE on economics. A ten lesson study that will throw light on today's baffling problems. Tuition free—small charge for materials. Write: Henry George Institute, 5 E. 44th St., New York, NY 10017.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

BIG MONEY possible lecturing. Cash in on rich, untapped market for public speakers throughout country. Simple procedures. Learn how; write: Cuppett, Box 91-K, Wilmington, CA 90748.

Donald Shaffer Insurance & Financial Services

All forms of Insurance

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 Grace Ave.
Great Neck, NY 11021
212-895-7005/516-466-4642



In These Times Classified Ads Grab Attention

...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 67,000 responsive readers each week. (72% made a mail order purchase last year.) ITT classies deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:

70¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
65¢ per word / 3-5 issues
60¢ per word / 6-9 issues
55¢ per word / 10-19 issues
50¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$19 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
\$18 per inch / 3-5 issues
\$17 per inch / 6-9 issues
\$15 per inch / 10-19 issues
\$13 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Telephone and POB numbers count as two words; abbreviations and zip codes as one. Advertising deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues are dated on Wednesday.

IN THESE TIMES Classified Advertising, 1300 W. Belmont Ave. Chicago, IL 60657. (312) 472-5700.

By Paul Bass

I HAVE MY IN DAYS AND MY OUT days. On my out days, I look for jobs. I just walk. I don't even take the bus, you know. I just walk to where I have to go. This sort of keeps me, well...it takes up my time. I'm not sitting around waiting, hoping for something to do. I always plan my day with something that I consider important.

My in days, I mostly clean house, write, do all those little projects that I start. I do a little arts and crafts, and I love that. You know, it keeps me busy, inside, having something to do.

Time and again the company would call her back, only to tell her a few months later that they had to lay her off for lack of work. But it's been a year this time and Lossie Gorham still hasn't been called back.

At first she felt angry. Someone had promised her a promotion, but she never got it. People wouldn't call her back for interviews after she'd submit applications. Her unemployment compensation ran out and she had to apply for welfare.

But gradually things changed for the 33-year-old machinist who lives in New Haven, Conn. She says she's grown used to a lifestyle that she hasn't known since she turned 17 in North Carolina—the out-of-work lifestyle. She has found ways to occupy her time besides looking for work. She joined a council for unemployed workers that recently formed. When spring came, she began coaching a little league team in the neighborhood.

On a sultry Friday afternoon last summer, Lossie stood in the dugout of a field near her home in New Haven's depressed Dixwell neighborhood, watching her team practice and reflecting on how the past year has forced her, like millions of other Americans, to come to terms with having the doors of employment slammed in her face.

I hate welfare, because it makes me feel like, it just seems to make me drop a level down in poverty. It makes me feel like I'm not really holding my own. It makes me feel like any day something might happen to upset it.

I've gotten bad with these [welfare office] people at times. But I'm learning that if you go down [there] and don't think they owe you something, you'll find you can get through that okay, too. Nothing happens when you go feeling all up-in-the-air mad, you know?

So one day I just calmed myself down, once I did decide to go down, and I realized it was going to take all day long. Made myself some lunch. Took me a book to read. I did what I had to do.

Treat these people with respect, and then they treat you the same. I had no problems. Doggone it, it don't hurt me to say "Thank you" or "I know you did your best," know what I mean? Only thing is, I'm hoping I will find a job so I won't have to be dependent on it.

When I was a child, I never was hungry. I never went without. I used to always think that I would be a model. I always thought I would have a comfortable life, you know. My life has been pretty good, except for when I'm unemployed.

I went to Barbizon for a while. Then I got lonely for my son—he was living with relatives. I had to give it up.

My son is a blessed thing. He gets up, and he fixes me breakfast. He brings it to my bed. He fixes me dirty coffee, but I drink it. (She chuckles.) It's the idea that he's doing it for his mother. And my kid, when he gets grown, I think he's gonna always tell his kids, "Don't depend on anybody. Do for yourself."

I can always talk to my son about anything. He has seen me just break down and cry. I mean, stay in a bed for days. And he'd get up and he'll go and buy me a soda or bring me his school lunch home, you know? (She laughs.) And that makes me feel good.

But unemployment has made me realize just how much I've taken things for

granted in the past. It's made me realize now that I can do more, that I should have done more with my life than I have done. A lot of jobs that ordinarily I wouldn't think of taking, now I would. Like a waitress, doing domestic work. Jobs have always been plentiful for me. I've never had a problem looking for a job. In fact, I've always worked two jobs.

Now I'm worried. Because life has got me scared. I'm scared because I worry about my kid. Danny is 12. I'm a single parent, head of my household, playing three or four different roles, and I just feel there should be a law or something that covers us single women.

When I get to the point where I can't feed my child, or I can't buy him a pair of pants or give him 50 cents for a candy bar, I worry, you know. I just worry.

Most of these kids come down to this field because they know "Miss Lossie" is going to be here. They come by my house, because I make Kool-aid. They come up, spend the night, whatever they want to do.

I do all this because I can't afford to go out and buy my kid a soda. I know there are a lot of other parents who can't do it, too. So I say, "Okay, I'm going to give you some Kool-aid." I have kids in my house all day long for Kool-aid. "Miss Lossie, Kool-aid!" They actually bring bags of sugar, little bags of sugar, and I make Kool-aid all day for them.

These kids are very much aware of what's happening, very much aware. You'd be surprised how much this unemployment has touched these kids' lives. There are only a few people around here that are working. The kids, they want to come out here and want to

Continued on page 23

MY IN DAYS AND MY OUT DAYS



Lossie Gorham talks about how she copes with unemployment.

James J. Murphy